

A GRAMMAR OF SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTATION
IN THE ENGLISH OF THE WYCLIFITE SERMONS,
WITH STUDIES OF SOME CLOSELY RELATED AREAS

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Presented for the degree of Ph D
University of Edinburgh
1978



I declare that this thesis is my own work.

With grateful thanks to Trish for her love and support, and
to Jane for her nice type.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the grammar of complement clauses, ie finite and infinitive clauses in nominal function, in the English of the Wyclifite Sermons c1400 (Select English Works of John Wyclif I & II ed T Arnold, Oxford 1869-71), and characterizes their occurrence in a corpus of c60,000 words. The complement system is fully described, partly within an informal transformational framework and with historical or more general linguistic justification as necessary, and an appendix lists constructions found with individual matrix verbs. Noun phrase complementation is generally involved, and the infinitive with subject behaves in many ways as a connex clause. There is particular discussion of the factors controlling infinitive marking, and the syntactic isolation of modal auxiliaries. Within finite clauses the oppositions between direct and indirect speech, indicative and subjunctive, inflectional subjunctive and shulde, and between clauses with and without main clause word order freedoms are given special attention, as is a use of how to indicate a following summary or narrative. The factors which control the presence of pat in clauses of indirect statement and question are also discussed.

Verbs of thinking and declaring are beginning to take nonfinite clause objects as the result of a series of minimal alterations to English structure made with Latin as a model. This results in a distributional pattern which parallels that found today, and which, it is hypothesized, is controlled by the same general factors.

In certain negative contexts pat-clauses regularly contain an initial ne of real or pleonastic negation. These are investigated in detail, and a semantic hypothesis about their grammar is advanced, as well as an account of their development showing the interaction of the influence of Latin quin and native structural pressure.

Abbreviations

EETS	Early English Text Society (OS = Original Series, ES = Extra Series)
EV	The Early Version of the Wyclifite Bible
LV	The Later Version of the Wyclifite Bible
ME	Middle English
MED	Middle English Dictionary
MHG	Middle High German
ModE	Modern English (1500-)
(NP TO VP) NP - TO VP	where necessary surface NP TO VP from one and two deep structure places have been distinguished as here
OE	Old English
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
OF	Old French
PE	Present-day English
1PAT-clause	a finite complement clause not introduced by a WH-word, whether or not it is headed by 1PAT
TO VP	an infinitive whether introduced by TO, FOR TO or ZERO
WBib	The Wyclifite Bible (Forshall and Madden 1850)
WSerE	Wyclifite Sermon English: "the language of the sermons as I understand it from my investigation of the corpus and the rest of the sermons" see p 28
ii.17.4 (etc)	for the method of reference to the sermon text see note on p 7 and 8

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1.1 Aims and Scope of This Thesis

This thesis is essentially an attempt to provide a partial syntactic characterization of a LME text based on the detailed consideration of a selected corpus, and written largely within the framework of transformational grammar. It is therefore a partial synchronic descriptive grammar, which can be seen as having two major aims. The first is to provide detailed information about particular textual facts interpreted as being relevant to the syntactic characterization. The second is to reveal something of the underlying linguistic systems by considering the text in the light of what we know about linguistic systems generally, with some reference to other ME texts, and to the history of ME. These two aims are not in practice sharply distinct from one another; and unless both are present, the exercise is bound to be unilluminating. The mere heaping up of "facts" is not valuable, and more abstract analyses need to be firmly based in data.

The scope of the investigation has been restricted to the system of 'complement constructions', together with some closely associated areas (see §1.7.4 for further discussion). The phrase 'complement construction' reflects the general usage of transformational grammarians dealing with those clauses, infinitives and gerunds which are part of the central subcategorization of the verb and might (typically) be thought of as functioning as subjects and objects. It is therefore a major area of grammar, and one which has shown a good deal of change

in the history of English. Besides this, attention has recently been focused on PE complement constructions, and it is therefore a good area for historical study, both because it is better understood than other areas and because comparison will be more fruitful.

1.2 Outline of Introduction

This introduction begins with three attempts at justification, and continues with three areas of preliminary discussion. The restriction in scope to an essentially coherent area which is fairly well studied in PE has already been defended: there follow attempts to justify the major aims of the thesis (§1.3), the choice of the Wyclifite Sermons as text for analysis (§1.4), and finally the use of the actual edition involved (§1.5). Then in §1.6 comes an attempt to characterize the language of the sermons from several points of view. The two remaining areas of preliminary discussion are rather different in character. §1.7 supplies a statement of the corpus chosen for detailed investigation and a discussion of general methodology, and in §1.8 there is a discussion of the grammatical framework of analysis and an attempt to justify the limits placed on the area of grammar studied. At the end of the introduction, in §1.9, an outline of the organization of the rest of the thesis is appended.

1.3 Justification of Major Aims

The major aims of this thesis may be defended on several grounds. Firstly, it is valuable to have analyses of coherent areas of ME syntax based primarily on the consideration of the systems underlying relatively homogeneous texts. Historians of English, workers in ME studies, even general linguists all need such studies.

Secondly, granted this, it is sensible to provide a more complete characterization and thus maximize return on data. ME data is laborious to collect and classify, and large quantities are needed for syntactic purposes. Given the intention to deal adequately with an area of grammar, little more work is involved in making a complete collection of instances for a corpus and providing frequency statements. Such data is moreover useful in determining the nature of underlying linguistic systems.

Thirdly, such explicit grammatical characterizations have two important applications. The first is in their contribution to our understanding of the history of English: we need to know not only what constructions occurred at a particular time, but their relative frequencies and the nature of the linguistic systems within which they are contained. So this aspect of the thesis will also form part of the equipment of the historical grammarian. Comparison with Professor Quirk's survey of English usage, and other ME material is already possible. The second is the importance of such characterizations for ME studies: the different registers of ME clearly differ widely, and such investigations are essential if we are to have any understanding of LME as a language, or see the stylistic spectrum within which LME writers operated.

1.4 The Value of the Wyclifite Sermons as a Text for Analysis

These justifications of thesis topic are augmented by the more particular reasons associated with the actual text chosen for investigation. This is the Wyclifite sermon cycle of c1400, together with the two closely associated tracts Vae Octuplex and Of Mynystris in

be Chirche, which were edited by Thomas Arnold in 1869 and 1871 as the first two volumes of Select English Works of John Wyclif. This text was chosen because of its practicality and because it seemed likely to be of particular importance for studies in ME and the history of English. On the grounds of practicality: it is a long prose text, not unreasonably edited and it is a coherent sermon cycle, not merely a collection of texts (see §1.5, §1.6.1). It seemed to show considerable morphological and syntactic homogeneity, and did not seem (on the face of it) to be a translation from Latin (see further §1.6.3). We clearly need detailed syntactic investigations of such texts. But there are further considerations which imply the importance of this text for studies in ME and the history of English more generally. The language of the majority of the sermon manuscripts is Professor Samuels' 'Type I': "a standard literary language based on the dialects of the Central Midland counties, especially Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire." (Samuels 1963 p 85, and note 5). Dr Hudson's localization of the language of most of the scribes is "the East Midlands, in its widest sense" and she suggests that most of the copying is likely to have taken place in "the area between Northampton and Leicester" (Hudson 1972b p 155), while the language of Bod 788 itself "belongs to what is apparently a more northerly sub-type of Central Midland Standard which would 'fit' in N. Northants, an area close to Lutterworth and Leicester" (Samuels 1968 p 333)*. The linguistic importance of this Eastern Central area for the history of English has recently been emphasised by Samuels (1963 esp pp 89 et seq). Moreover, he stresses the importance of the standard involved: it is the language of the majority of Wyclifite manuscripts and "until 1430, it is the type that

* But this localization is perhaps over-precise, see p 7 below.

has most claim to the title 'literary standard'," on grounds both of the volume of material written in it and its geographically widely attested use (Samuels 1963 p 85). These facts of linguistic provenance and standardization suggest that the syntax of the sermons may also be of especial historical importance.

There are two further indications that the sermons may have been influential historically. Firstly, it has been persuasively suggested that there was widespread use among lollards of this, "the standard lollard sermon cycle," (see particularly Hudson 1972b (quote p 147), and also 1971a, 1973). Not only are the sermons found in a comparatively large number of manuscripts (32 survive in whole or in part: Hudson 1973 Appendix item 7), but many more must be presumed to have been lost, both because of the likelihood of the destruction of such large manuscripts of obviously heterodox content, and because of the evidence of textual relations among manuscripts. The lollards were, moreover, a group distinguished by literacy and book-production, and they held firmly to the value of preaching, an activity for which the sermon manuscripts were designed, to judge from their layout and size. Thus Dr Hudson argues that the sermons may have provided one channel by which Wyclifite ideas and vocabulary were transmitted to the fifteenth century (see Hudson 1971a, 1972b, 1973). Secondly, even apart from such external indications that the language may have been influential historically, we have the evidence of the text itself as analysed by Dr Hargreaves: "... for nearly every point the restricted range [sc. of the points of syntactic usage and style he investigated - AW] favoured by Wyclif is one to which the general development of the language since his time has tended to conform." (Hargreaves 1966 p 11).

Finally, the study of this particular text also seems likely to prove valuable for ME studies because the circumstances of manuscript production imply that the language of the text is quite likely to represent a coherent range of ME usage characterizable from either a social or a linguistic point of view (see §1.6.1). It probably, therefore, represents a variety of ME in whose shaping the rather random reworking often associated with textual transmission has played little part; one, moreover, which is fairly narrowly homogeneous and attributable to a particular socially definable group. This LME variety is not only worth study as such, but because it may well occupy an important place in future attempts to characterize the LME variety spectrum. Its presumed homogeneity must also make the task of writing a descriptive grammar easier and more revealing, in that variation is more likely to be restricted to matters of more 'centrally linguistic' relevance.

A final defence of the value of a study of these sermons might be that sermons are fairly well distributed historically in English, and thus (though not all representing similar types of language) provide a useful body of comparative material for the historian of language.

I hope to have shown here that the enterprise of this thesis is a worthwhile one, and the text at least sensibly chosen. Beyond that, I hope to have shown that it is likely that study of the Wyclifite sermons will be of particular value for an understanding both of ME and the history of English, because of the probable importance of the type of language in which they are written, both within ME and from a historical point of view.

1.5 MS Bodley 788 and Arnold's Edition

Arnold chose the manuscript Bodley 788 as the basis of his edition, and it provides a sound enough text to have been a serious candidate as the basic manuscript for Dr Hudson's proposed new edition (personal communication). "It is in the same handwriting from first to last, a handwriting probably of the last decade of the fourteenth century." (Arnold vol i p xvii), and the Bodleian Summary Catalogue provides a similar dating: "written late in the 14th cent." (Summary Catalogue vol 2 part 1, MS no 2628). The spelling and morphology are East Midland. Professor A McIntosh kindly tells me that the Middle English dialect survey would localize the language in the Hunts area.

Arnold's edition is a sufficiently accurate reproduction of Bodley 788 for my purposes, despite his reliance on two assistants for the actual transcription. He printed a text "without emendation even when manifestly corrupt" (Hudson 1972b p 153), with only "fitful reference" (ibid p 147) to three other manuscripts. His punctuation is that of the manuscript modified by modern practice, and is thus a rather awkward blend, despite his amazing claim that Bod 788 contains no punctuation and that the edition's is editorial (Arnold vol i p xxi). There are some errors in spelling, and occasional errors affecting syntax: thus, eg, there is a slight tendency to alter the sequence NP TO VP or TO NP TO VP of the manuscript into FOR NP TO VP, as here:

- (1) i.227.10* But Jesus ... seide to hem þingis
þat weren betere to [sic MS, Arnold for]
hem to cunne; ...

* Reference to Arnold's edition is by volume, page and line. Line references were read off a template positioned with '1' opposite the first line of sermon text on each page, disregarding headings.

But after checking the text of several randomly selected sermons against a microfilm of Bod 788, it seemed that the edition was adequate for syntactic purposes, and that the time spent in collating it with the manuscript would be wasted, particularly in view of Dr Hudson's forthcoming edition. I have, however, made considerable use of a microfilm of Bod 788 in checking unusual or curious constructions, in checking all instances of particular constructions (like FOR NP TO VP, or PAT NE) and in seeking to answer particular points (involving, eg, the use of punctuation). Where Arnold's text is incorrect in a quoted example, I alter the text and insert sic MS after the alteration.

1.6 The Language of the Sermons Externally Characterized

1.6.0 The purpose of this section is to provide an external characterization of the language of the sermons, so that we may have a better understanding of what a grammar of the sermons represents. Three types of characterization seem to be possible. In §1.6.1 the circumstances of production of the sermons are discussed and it is argued that there

*(from previous page) Thus the first line of text: Crist tellip in pis parable ... is i.1.1. The gaps between sermons which occur within a page are counted as if they contained lines, so that the last line of the first sermon, for misusinge of Goddis goodis. i.3.26 is followed by the first line of the second sermon Pis gospel movep men ... with the reference i.3.34. This method of line-numbering facilitates quick reference both with a template (one is provided with each copy of this thesis), and without one when it is known that the number of lines on a full page is 38. Vulgate quotation which is underlined in red in the manuscript is placed within single quotes. An initial capital indicates that the quotation begins an orthographic sentence, unless it is preceded by '...', while a final period indicates the end of an orthographic sentence. Incomplete quotations are followed by '...'. Occasionally, particularly in §5.1.6, the manuscript punctuation is reproduced. In such cases the capitalization of Arnold's edition is retained, and single quotes are used as above, but other punctuation is solely in accordance with the manuscript.

must be a strong presumption that the sermons met the standard of acceptability of a socially definable group of men, and hence represent a coherent range of ME usage. In §1.6.2 it is suggested that the sermons though rhetorically 'plain' are by no means colloquial, and that they probably were intended to be read aloud fairly straightforwardly. Finally, in §1.6.3 the question of Latin influence in the sermons is discussed: the most satisfactory conclusion is that the sermons are not translated from Latin, but were probably written up in part from Latin source material in a type of English influenced by Latin and techniques of translation from Latin.

1.6.1 The circumstances of production of the sermons, and deductions.

There are two remarkable features of this series of sermons, discussed by Dr A Hudson (see principally Hudson 1971a, but also 1972b, 1973 pp 448-9). Firstly, the 294 sermons form a coherent cycle, and are not simply a collection of texts of varied origin and history; secondly, there is evidence that 27 of the manuscripts were copied under conditions of strict editorial control. The coherency of the cycle is shown by the fact that there is no evidence for the independent transmission of any single sermon: the membership of the five groups of sermons is constant in different manuscripts despite considerable systematic reordering, and cross-references from sermon to sermon are reproduced even when inappropriate (say, because a particular group is missing). The nature of the care taken with the text can best be shown by quoting Dr Hudson directly: "At odds with the diversity of arrangements is the nature of the text presented in any individual sermon. Here the agreement of the manuscripts is remarkable. ... This

agreement between the manuscripts extends not merely to material readings, but also to matters of syntax and immaterial wording ... there is little of the random omission or inclusion of definite article, alteration of genitive phrases or prepositional constructions that is characteristic of the transmission of most prose texts." (Hudson 1971a p 149). She remarks that the manuscripts give the impression of being "executed to a prescribed pattern under close supervision" (ibid p 146); moreover they were carefully corrected, again in small matters "immaterial to the sense" (ibid p 149) such as the use of the definite article, and a correction in one manuscript is frequently also found in others: "... clearly a high degree of concern for the ipsissima verba is implied, together with an equally high degree of supervision in the making and correction of the manuscripts." (ibid p 150). The implications of the evidence of reordering and close supervision in production are most important: "we must suppose that the manuscripts were made under tight control in a limited period of time and within a small number of centres ... The simplest assumption would be that all the manuscripts were written in a single 'factory', ..." (ibid p 150). Clearly, too, the production in quantity of such large manuscripts would have been very costly, and this also points to a considerable degree of social organization underlying their manufacture. These considerations make it seem extremely likely that the actual text of the sermons was composed by a man or an organized group of men in a reasonably short time; the sermons as they stand cannot adequately be understood as merely the result of a process of revision and accretion extending over a prolonged period, as Talbert (1937) suggests.

Talbert had attempted to date parts of the sermons by using references to known historical events, and he had concluded that the sermons were produced during the period between 1376 and 1412: "The English sermons ... were probably written for the less-learned Poor Priests, and ... were probably used and compiled by them over a period of years." (Talbert 1937 p 465). Ransom (1948) had tried to arrange the sermons in chronological order using similar methods. One may feel, on looking at their arguments, that the text has often been made to bear a more precise sense than was ever intended, and that only some of their 'firm' references might be thought of as firmly established. Moreover some of the sermon manuscripts are dated palaeographically to the late fourteenth century (Hudson 1971a p 146). Thus we may agree with Dr Hudson that composition over an extended period is unlikely, and that an earlier date of composition than recently envisaged is probable. (Hudson 1973 p 448 and note 39. Note the evidence for earlier persecution of lollards in Opus Arduum, and the possible references to the sermons made in 1389-90, quoted here and in Hudson 1971a p 142 (see note 1)). But the crucial point for us is that there is good reason to suggest essentially a single process of composition of the sermon text (even if it involved a rewriting of earlier work, as the reference in Opus Arduum may imply), and the arguments advanced for supposing a long period of development of the text are inadequate (cf Hudson 1973 p 448 n 39, 1971a p 145). There is however considerable variation in the techniques of Vulgate translation used in the sermons: sometimes strict literalisms not unlike those of the Early Version of the Wyclifite Bible; sometimes 'good translation', more like the Later Version; sometimes the freest of

paraphrases. This, along with the internal inconsistencies in attitude and teaching remarked by Ransom (1948), makes it unlikely that the sermons were simply the product of one man at one time, and increases the likelihood of composition by a group of men. There is a contemporary attribution to 'Doctor euangelij' (ie Wyclif) in MS Bodley Douce 321, but evidence of date is against Wyclif's sole authorship (Hudson 1972b p 152 and n 2).

All this is important for an understanding of the kind of language likely to be shown in the sermons. In so far as the above picture of the composition of the sermons is a true one, the language is more likely to be homogeneous in that it will represent the standard of acceptability of its compilers: a standard possibly implied in the scrupulous mediaeval editing, and preserved for us by it. The text is less likely to consist of the reworkings of unconnected men, and more likely to represent an area of usage externally definable as that of a group recognizable to contemporary society, probably educated lollard clerics. Hence the language is more likely to have been sociolinguistically coherent in that it was produced to a greater extent as the result of control by rather consistent linguistic and social factors, and only to a lesser extent is the product of textual history and varying linguistic and social factors. In short, the text may well represent a socially definable variety of LME which is relatively 'homogeneous' and 'clean', and the language may therefore turn out to be descriptively central in ME studies. This is an important additional justification for the subject matter of this thesis.

The idea advanced in this section, that there are some grounds for supposing that the language of the sermons may ultimately prove to be a coherent and descriptively central area of usage viewed from either a social or a linguistic point of view, does not mean that the language may not perhaps show the effects of stages of revision of text. A small indication of such revision may be the occurrence of STOPPE NP FOR TO VP 'prevent someone from doing something' in a passage picked out by Talbert (1937 p 472) as probably showing a date after 1392 (ii.132.35 - ii.133.3). In the corpus investigated LETTE is the normal verb in this construction and STOPPE does not appear. However, in dealing with the text I have not come across substantial evidence of such variation which might affect the notion that the text met one external criterion of acceptability.

We may conclude that at the present stage of research into the Wyclifite sermons there must be a strong presumption that they are essentially the product of a group of men working within a restricted period of time, and that, even if an earlier text was revised, the language will have met the standard of acceptability of a definite group. Hence the language of the sermons is likely to represent a coherent range of ME usage, characterizable from either a linguistic or a social point of view.

1.6.2 The sermons as language written to be read.

As a second characterization of the language of the sermons let me offer Dr Hargreaves' opinion: "There is ... as little that is deliberately colloquial about it as there is that is designedly artistic Yet in some respects the basic construction of modern

plain prose shows much in common with it." (Hargreaves 1966 p 17). He refers to Wyclif's opinion, expressed in his Latin Sermones (Loserth 1890 sermon xxxi pp 262 et seq) that preaching to the people should eschew rhythmical and rhetorical colours, and the use of unscriptural matter, but should consist of "plana locutio de pertinentibus" (Loserth 1890 p 271) and finds (on considering some facts of word-order, sentence length and complexity, and the introduction of subordinate clauses) that the English sermons are indeed in such a style. But if they are 'plain', there are aspects of the language which are presumably not colloquial: the use of PAT NE*, certain uses of the 'accusative and infinitive' and some of the vocabulary (though Knapp 1971 finds that in translating Matthew, the sermons use more OE and less romance vocabulary than the Wyclifite Bible): eg,

improbite ii.154.18 (MED improbitē n. This is the only citation);

intuycioun ii.157.10 (MED intuicioun n. First and only citation is 1450);

nawfragies ii.149.1 (OED Naufragie, Obs. rare. This is the first citation);

perplex ii.422.16 (OED Perplex, a. Obs. This is the first citation, the next is 1520);

transmutacioun ii.297.25 (OED Transmutation. This is the first citation).

The language is presumably, however, 'written to be read' rather than simply 'written'. Terasawa (1968) argues for this (from an unconvincing array of data). More cogent evidence is the layout of the manuscripts: "The arrangement of many suggests that it was planned that the sermons should be read aloud publicly from them." (Hudson 1971a p145) and the punctuation of Bod 788 would certainly allow

* Discussed in chapter 7.

for public delivery (see the brief discussion of §5.1.6). But are the sermons designed to be read as they stand? There are some indications in the text that additions might be made on delivery (eg Arnold vol i p xv; also ii.169.9; ii.249.22-4; ii.272.1; i.57.16 and elsewhere) besides cross-references, and passages directing the selection of content or describing it; eg one rather recondite passage is followed by:

- (2) ii.285.18 Al þis saverip more to clerkis þan to
comounte of men, and þefore men muten passe
over þis, spekyng to þe comoun puple.

or material is introduced as follows:

- (3) ii.254.2 And here is sumwhat to speke agens þe
firste of þes foure.

More interesting, however, than this kind of relationship between the written text and the sermon as delivered is the possibility that (perhaps only in certain respects) the sermons represent 'notes' to be conventionally expanded on delivery. The conditions governing the presence of the definite article, as of (FOR) TO before infinitives and ÞAT before clauses might be affected by this, as might the allowability of certain apparent construction types: clauses in apposition, infinitives in various types of adverbial relation, occurrence of indirect speech after individual verbs, etc. However, it seems that the English of the sermons is sufficiently like other types of ME (and later English), at least in so far as the areas of syntax investigated in this thesis are concerned, for this not to be a major factor that ought to be taken into account in interpreting the language of the text. Even if part of the original intention of the compilation was to provide "draft or skeleton sermons" as Arnold suggests (vol i p xv), there does not seem to be any reason why what is written down

should not simply have been read aloud as a sermon as it stands. This judgement is, however, in large part intuitive and may need later revision. A further related difficulty is that of the extent to which Vulgate translation is well integrated into the sermon text, which is discussed below in §1.6.3, where a similar answer is given.

Thus, the relationship of the sermons to delivery is not clear, but we are probably justified in thinking of the sermons as rhetorically 'plain' language, containing definite uncolloquial elements, and intended for delivery to a group either as it stood, or perhaps more typically, in an expanded form.

1.6.3 The relationship of the sermons to Latin.

Since the method of the sermons is one of postillation, and each sermon contains a translation and exposition of the Vulgate text appointed to be read as the gospel or epistle for that day, there is a considerable amount of material in the sermons which is directly dependent upon Latin. The method of translation varies from the rather literal to fully idiomatic, and sometimes is even rather paraphrase than translation proper. The rendering of the appointed text is carefully underlined in red, unlike other Vulgate renderings which are not distinguished. Arnold reproduces these rubricated passages in italics; I place them within single quotes.

But what about the rest of the sermon text? Dr Fristedt has written that Latin is "an idiom from which the English sermons seem to reek of translation" (Fristedt 1969 p LXII), and we must try to decide, as part of the characterization of the language of the text, whether translation from Latin is indeed in question. My rather tentative conclusion is this: that translation as such is not likely

to be involved except in some particular passages. Rather, the sermons were produced in a milieu in which Latin and English were both thoroughly familiar, and in which English was much under the influence of Latin. It seems more likely that we have to do with a 'variety' of English conditioned by contact and perhaps even by the process of translation itself than with actual translation. There are two main reasons why I prefer to believe this. Firstly, the background to the production of the sermons is appropriate. Secondly, there is some evidence from the language of the sermons themselves.

Perhaps the most difficult problem for anyone who believed that the sermons were translated as a whole would be the substantial lack of direct sources (Dr Hudson - personal communication). One can gain the impression (eg from Workman 1926 vol 2 pp 206-13) that the English sermons are translations of Wyclif's Latin Sermones, but the situation is rather that "a number of the sermons draw on ideas found in the Latin sermon for the corresponding occasion" (Hudson 1972b p 152, and see Winn 1929 pp xxx-xxxi) than that actual translation is involved. There are in any case no Latin ferial gospel sermons, beside 116 English ones. Indeed, a less straightforward relationship to Latin texts is implied by the very varied degree of correspondence between Wyclif's Latin works and their corresponding English versions, ranging from 'close translation', through 'paraphrase' and 'general resemblance' to mere similarity of basic subject matter (Winn 1929 p xxix et seq) as also by the kind of background to lollard book production outlined in Hudson (1972a,b).

Abstracts, digests and indexes of John Wyclif's work were actively prepared for the better dissemination of and active study of his ideas:

thus the Floretum and the reduced and revised Rosarium are theological common-place books with headings in alphabetical order, which cite and give references to the scriptures, the fathers, canon law and Wyclif's own works. The Floretum is quite substantial: it would extend to 1000 pages of modern print (Hudson 1972a). The implication of the kind of activity this represents is that the English sermons may reflect Latin Wyclifite source material in a very complex way; one which would perhaps include short sections of translation, but which could hardly be called translation overall (cf here my discussion of the relationship between the English and Latin De Officio Pastoralis in §7.2.6).

A further kind of dependency on Latin may be suggested by P Erb's investigation of material in MS Camb. Univ. Lib. Ii. III.18 (cl400) (Erb 1971). He interprets some of the macaronic material as draft sermons, with notes basically in Latin, but with English words and phrases inserted because of the intention to deliver in English. And it seems reasonable to suppose that sermons delivered in English might have been prepared in a Latin (or partly Latin) version (cf Workman vol II p 209, although Owst 1926 p 224 found no evidence of this).

Both the general assumptions we might make about sermon writing cl400, and the activities of the lollards imply then that we should suppose that the Wyclifite sermons were likely to have been produced partly from materials in Latin, by men with a degree of Latin-English bilingualism. But they do not lead us to the conclusion that we can simply characterize the sermons as translation from Latin, or that we do not have to do here with a variety of English, which while it owed something to Latin, was independent of it.

There is some evidence in the text to support the idea of a Latin-related variety of English. Perhaps the most striking evidence is that presented in chapter 7 about the relationship between QUIN and the apparent calque \dot{P} AT NE. The essential points are that \dot{P} AT NE is used in rendering Vulgate passages which do not contain QUIN, and that it is used otherwise with apparent freedom both in the sermons and in some other Wyclifite texts. It seems to be a freely available English idiom, not merely a literalism of translation; but it is a kind of English closely associated with Latin. A similar point can be made for another apparent Latinism: \dot{P} AT occurs before reported direct speech in the sermons when rendering the Vulgate, but it by no means always corresponds to the Vulgate QUIA of which it might be thought to be an imitation. (Here, and in dealing with \dot{P} AT NE, I have assumed that over a range of examples the Vulgate text available to me will, in the particular relevant respects, not differ essentially from the Vulgate or Sarum missal of the sermon compiler(s): but, especially for QUIA, this may not be justified.) Some further justification for the view outlined above may be found in the occurrence of literalisms used in rendering the Latin of the Vulgate which do not occur outside Vulgate translation in my corpus (for which see §1.7.3 below), or elsewhere in the sermons so far as I know: NYLE = noli(te), HE \dot{P} IS (etc) = iste, AND = 'even', Latin et, etiam or SEIE plus accusative and infinitive, OED Say, v.¹ B.2 'To declare or state in words ...', f. 'with direct object and inf. in lieu of clause. (a Latinism)' unless the doubtful i.154.26 is an example, but these might simply represent a difference in practice between scriptural and nonscriptural rendering. There is a supposed literalism

found in the sermons outside the Vulgate: BE MAAD in the sense 'become' (OED Make, v.¹ 48f, 49e 'In passive as a literalism for L. fieri = to become'.), eg

- (4) i.181.22 þe same substance is now quyk and now
deed, and now seed and now fruyte; and so þat
substaunce þat is now a whete corn mut nedis
die bifore þat it be maad gras, and sip be maad
an hool eer.

(also i.181.2, ii.228.14: these are the only reasonably certain corpus examples except those with subject GOD, CRIST. It renders Vulgate fieri at ii.64.4, ii.84.8, ii.194.5, i.301.27, i.307.15 and elsewhere.)

But even BE MAAD (in whatever sense) is proportionately much more frequent when the Vulgate is being rendered than when it is not.

In conclusion, it seems that from the lack of substantial direct source material so far found, the background to production in so far as it can be discerned, and the evidence of the text itself, it is more reasonable to assume that the sermons are written in a kind of English influenced by Latin, and that they were composed with reference to Latin texts, than that they are actually translations.

1.7 Methodology and Scope of Analysis

1.7.1 Theoretical framework.

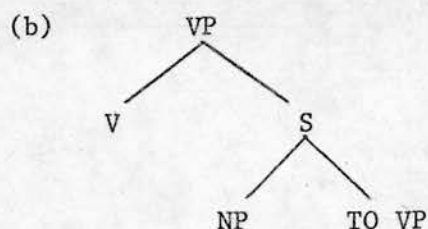
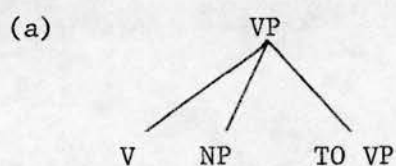
The remaining sections of the introduction deal with rather different questions from those tackled above, being concerned essentially with grammatical approach and methodology. It is transformational grammar which provides the broad theoretical framework for this thesis. This is partly a matter of my personal conviction that it is the best currently available model for syntactic investigation,

but it is also particularly suitable in that it provides both a reasonably coherent account of PE in the areas to be investigated, and a considerable range of detailed predictions about what may occur in language. This can, at best, make possible a cogent, detailed, even an explanatory account of some construction, say the negative clause type dealt with in chapter 7. A somewhat traditional type of transformational grammar has generally been assumed for the purposes of discussion, because a corpus-based grammar of a dead language must necessarily present and discuss the surface syntax and only rather cautiously attempt more abstract analyses. Thus the developments of Generative Semantics (see, eg, Lakoff 1971) raise many unanswerable questions, and any general attempt to apply the theory would be doomed to frustration. The Extended Standard Theory on the other hand (see, eg, Chomsky 1973) provides a model which is at least capable of application to ME. But although there are good arguments for adopting a narrowly restrictive theory in approaching historical data (see, eg, Lightfoot 1977), it seems more appropriate for a corpus-based descriptive grammar to avoid overfirm commitment to presently contentious theories and to hold to more neutral ground. Moreover it is necessary to be willing to gain insights into grammatical processes eclectically and not just from transformational grammarians. For these reasons, and because many aspects of a formalized grammar of the sermons could not be justified, the grammatical account I present will not be formal, although aspects of a deeper account will be argued for. Indeed, theoretical issues will be raised only to the limited extent that is appropriate in a thesis that is essentially an attempt to

describe the syntax of a ME corpus. Where undecidable issues arise, I would suggest that since the grammar cannot be said to differ from that of PE, it is reasonable to present it in terms paralleling that generally given for PE.

1.7.2 General methodology.

The basic data for analysis consists of the distribution of forms in the text together with aspects of the partial grammatical and semantic interpretation imposed by the translating grammarian. This data is very inadequate, and it must be supplemented by appeal to what we know about general linguistics, the history of English, and ME. But in the first instance the grammar consists of an analysis of distributional parallels and patterns, and the assignment of category labels and bracketings must always be distributionally defensible. Thus the question of the status of NP TO VP in the sequences BIDDE NP TO VP and LETTE NP TO VP, ie whether a structure like (a) or like (b) is to be preferred, can only be answered distributionally.



We cannot appeal to such notions as that the NP is the 'object' of BIDDE, or that LETTE is a verb which essentially means 'prevent someone from doing something' and that therefore (a) is a better mirror of its semantics. For an account based partly on such notions see,

eg, Kageyama (1975), but he is willing to make an assumption about the straightforwardness of the relationship between syntax and semantics which seems to me unwarranted. Once an analysis has been shown to have distributional justification, however, we may well argue that the difference between (5) and (6) is precisely that (5) cannot be (a) while (6) is either (a) or (b) on grounds of reasonable fit with semantics.

(5) i.272.6 God biddiþ þis lanterne to be put 'on
hye on a candilsticke ...'

(6) ii.236.30 But God bad bi oure bileve Adam to
ete not of þat appil, ...

Although it would be unsound to rely exclusively upon meaning to establish any syntactic point, the ability to translate is basic to the writing of ME grammars. In translating ME we are in effect imposing a grammatical analysis upon it, though to be sure probably an inadequate one. But many aspects of that understanding can form the basis of a preliminary analysis: eg the assignment to categories such as 'noun phrase', 'infinitive', 'apposition', 'adverbial', 'adverbial of purpose', or of some level of bracketing as in the division 'subject', 'predicate'. And as analysis proceeds, more aspects of this understanding of ME will contribute to it, eg in making the judgements of coreference necessary to distinguish reported direct speech from indirect statement, or to say whether a pronoun is reflexive to the sentential subject or not. Sometimes more sophisticated semantic judgements have been made in supporting an analysis, but always in a way which included some further distributional support (see eg the discussion of HOW = ÞAT in §3.3, or of ÞAT-clauses in a double negative context in chapter 7); and, of course, no syntax can be written without reference to relevant semantic distinctions (eg in discussing types of WH-clause in §3.3). I take the perception of some of the grammatical and semantic interrelations

which are basic to the ability to translate to be basic to grammatical investigation too.

One of the most immediate difficulties, however, which faces any text-based analysis of a language is the shortfall of examples. It seems worthwhile briefly illustrating this point to underline the importance of the other kinds of evidence discussed below. Thus in Huddleston's corpus-based study of 135,000 words of written scientific English (Huddleston 1971), there are no instances in subject position of nonfinite subject clauses which themselves have a subject (that is, nothing like 'For John to kiss Mary would give us all a thrill' or 'Mary's acting so strangely shouldn't offend you' (ibid chapter 4.3)). At the same time Huddleston remarks of nonfinite complements, with 808 examples in all, "Thirty-three patterns will be distinguished, ... though many of them have only one or two occurrences" (ibid p 180). Similarly, Virginia McDavid's study "The Alternation of 'That' and Zero in Noun Clauses" (McDavid 1964), with a corpus of 100,000 words which contained 650 THAT-clauses, found only 4 in subject position. Her rather detailed classification of the matrix clauses she expected into 50 types left her with 20 gaps. Thus gaps in the data from the Wyclifite sermons must be expected, and must be cautiously interpreted in the light of theory and other evidence before 'ungrammaticality' is hypothesized. We might expect the problem to be particularly acute for a text produced in the manner described in §1.6.1, since both the circumstances of production and the careful policing of textual detail could well imply a considerable reduction in the variation found elsewhere in writing (as was indeed noted by Hargreaves 1966).

Thus, the evidence available for the construction of a transformational grammar of ME is much weaker than that available for PE. We are denied evidence from intuition (R Lakoff 1968 p 3 notwithstanding) and consequently knowledge of ungrammaticality (except in very restricted cases, see chapter 6 below). Evidence about distribution is weaker. Evidence about contrast, paraphrase, intonational differences etc is deficient or lacking. We must therefore justify our theories about ME grammar by relying to a greater extent on what is known about language, and by showing that our accounts are compatible with what is known of the history of English. 'What is known about language' may take the form of theoretical statements or crude observations. It may, for example, be the statement that a particular transformational relationship exists between pairs of sentences in PE and other languages. To this we can add our limited observations of distribution for the parallel pair of structures in ME, and if the degree of paraphrase appropriate to a transformational relation does not seem to fail, we can say that the ME sentences are probably transformationally related. Thus the transformation becomes evidence for the paraphrase instead of inversely as in PE, and the point of evidence from distribution or clear failure of paraphrase is to refute. Or what is known may be cruder and less convincing: thus it is plausible that in the sermons HOW may head a finite clause whose content is 'narrative' or 'summary' (see §3.3) partly because there is a roughly similar situation in PE, or in the use of Serbo Croat kako 'how' with pričati 'narrate' only when its subject is impersonal, or some phrase like the story. The point I would like to make here is that the data we have for ME needs supplementation, and one must

strive to demonstrate the naturalness of analyses as a quite important part of the evidence for them: apparent patterns and correlations need to be interpreted as linguistic facts in order to be justified.

Similarly, we must, where possible, seek diachronic justification. It is not really possible to separate synchronic and diachronic considerations in attempting to set up a grammar of ME, and only by showing that a synchronic account is at least compatible with the probable historical development can we hope to achieve plausible analyses. The point is partly that without this additional check the data is simply open to too many interpretations, and partly that the diachronic perspective is essential to direct lines of enquiry. In what follows therefore I have tried to provide some measure of diachronic justification for analyses that become at all abstract. In the same way, it has often been necessary to make use of more general ME material than just the Wyclifite sermons: I have made use primarily of the Wyclifite Bible, other Wyclifite texts and Chaucer (besides the material available in dictionaries) in search for data upon specific points. Although this is primarily a corpus-based grammar, it is simply not possible to answer the questions raised without reference to other areas of ME. Such reference must be cautious; the language of the sermons must, after all, have had its distinctive features. But it is essential nonetheless.

1.7.3 Corpus selected and method.

For different grammatical topics I have found it necessary to use different amounts of material but the basic corpus first chosen for the investigation of complement structures is of 165 pages, rather

over 60,000 words: i.1-41.6, i.165-205, ii.51-90, ii.221-264 (all inclusive). This represents just over one fifth of the contents of the two volumes (which contain c812 pp of print). All relevant instances in this corpus have been collected, because of the intention to characterize the language as fully as possible, for which frequency counts are necessary (see §1.3).

For complement sentences and related constructions I wrote out the passages containing all possibly relevant instances within the basic corpus each on a card (thus including many which were later rejected as belonging to other categories in the light of later analysis). The Latin of any corresponding Vulgate passage (which was underlined, or which I otherwise tracked down) was also included. A partial collection of other constructions with each verb was also made. Where the text seemed difficult or dubious it was checked against a microfilm of the manuscript. The cards were indexed by construction type and matrix lexical controller (verb, adjective or noun) for the purposes of analysis.

At slightly later stages, I have read the rest of Arnold's volumes i and ii several times in search of information on various topics, and I have kept a record (on cards) of any constructions which were lacking or underrepresented in the basic corpus. It seemed to me most productive to supplement the original corpus in this way rather than to devote a great deal of energy to expanding it; so the analysis has been carried out on a complete collection of examples from the corpus, supplemented by a more random collection from elsewhere in the two volumes. For some topics (the clauses in double negative contexts dealt with in chapter 7, reflexives and some constructions with

infinitives) larger systematic corpuses were used, and these are referred to at the appropriate place. Figures of occurrence are normally given only for a systematically investigated corpus, but sometimes also for the wider collection when special attention was paid to sentences of a particular type. Material from outside the sermons has also sometimes been referred to; in particular the results of chapter 6 are partly based on a systematic collection of instances from the Wyclifite Bible.

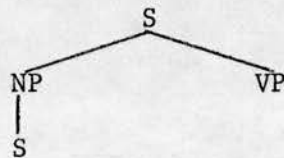
I have found it convenient to use the following terms: (i) 'the corpus' refers to the basic corpus as defined above. Where a further distinction is necessary I use the terms 'the extended corpus', 'the (basic) corpus'; (ii) 'the sermons' means the contents of Arnold vols i and ii: ie the Wyclifite Sermons, Vae Octuplex and Of Mynystris in þe Chirche; (iii) 'Wyclifite Sermon English' (abbreviated to 'WSerE') is used to mean "the language of 'the sermons' as I understand it from my investigation of 'the corpus' and the rest of 'the sermons'". This convenient expression will save much hedging, but beware: statements made about 'Wyclifite Sermon English' are essentially provisional, and are not based upon a full and detailed consideration of everything in 'the sermons'. Henceforth, as before this paragraph, these terms appear without scare quotes.

1.7.4 The scope of this analysis.

The scope of this analysis is 'complement clauses' and nearly related areas, where the term 'clause' is used for a structure containing a verb, finite or nonfinite. In effect, this is the area covered by chapter 4 of Huddleston (1971), and is that necessary to understand

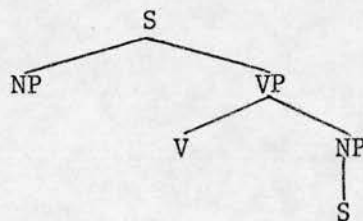
what Quirk et al (1972 §11.16) call 'Nominal clauses (or clauses equivalent in function to noun phrases)', with the exception of 'the nominal relative clause'. The wider use of Bresnan (1972) is not adopted. Thus, the principal structures involved here are the following three and clauses in apposition.*

Subject Complement



- (7) i.341.28 þat þe þre kingis camen so fer ... bitokeneþ
 Cristis lordship ...

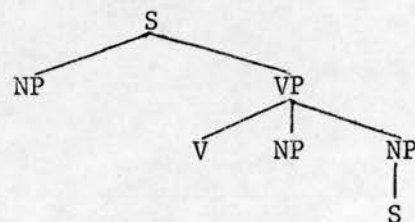
Object Complement



- (8) i.24.8 but we shal wite þat þis lord is God, ...

I shall refer to structures of this kind as 'monotransitive' (adopting the usage of Quirk et al 1972 chapter 12).

Oblique Object Complement



- (9) i.36.17 Þis gospel techiþ men hou þei shulden be
 bisye for blisse ...

* The tree diagrams here are schematic and intended only to represent the aspects of structure relevant to discussion. The same is true of all other tree diagrams in this thesis.

I shall refer to structures of this kind as 'ditransitive' (adopting the usage of Quirk et al 1972 chapter 12).

Clauses in Apposition to NP (eg (10) and (11)), including clauses related to head nouns as complement clauses are to their head verb (eg (12)-(14)):

- (10) i.166.5 and wiþ þis þei done not þer office to
quykene oþer branchis; ...
- (11) ii.85.11 'In þis is þe word soþ, þat he is oþer
þat sowiþ, and oþer is he þat repiþ.'
John 4.37 In hoc enim est verbum verum: quia
alius est qui seminat, et alius est qui metit.
- (12) ii.233.22 she gladiþ her herte and hir chere, in
hope to be confortid of him.
- (13) i.203.24 And if þei han greet wille to do þis
for Goddis sake, þei han now a maner of blis, ...
- (14) i.2.1 'and he was buried in helle,' in token þat
he shulde ever dwelle þere. [sic MS]

A 'complement clause', then, is a subordinate finite or non-finite clause (where infinitives, with or without subjects, are the only representatives of the category 'nonfinite clause') which is part of the central subcategorization of a verb or a noun, or stands in apposition to NP (as in Huddleston 1971 chapter 4.1-4). There is also a further 'appositional' clause type discussed in §5.1.6. Such 'complement clauses' in the sermons are the focus of this analysis, though in two respects a wider area has been covered. It seemed only sensible to deal with infinitive marking more generally, and not merely in complement infinitives, and the account of nonfinite clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring is as much concerned with the Wyclifite Bible as with WSerE. Other 'closely related areas' have also been dealt with. The behaviour of negation in PAT-clauses (not

just complement PAT-clauses) in double negative contexts is of particular interest, and chapter 7 is devoted to it. An account of the gerund has also been included although it is best analysed as a straightforward noun phrase, because of its (historically) close relationship with complement clauses, and a brief account of reflexives has been given, partly because it proved impossible to answer certain questions about the status of nonfinite clauses without such an account.

Since PAT-clauses, WH-clauses and infinitives have various functions, nominal, adjectival and adverbial, there are difficulties and indeterminacies in applying the notions 'complement clause', 'clause subcategorizing the verb' or 'clause with a function approximating to that of noun phrase'. These are not pretheoretically sharp notions, and for PE may not be free of gradience. So in collecting the sermon data I was careful to assign all clauses to some category or group of categories wherever possible (the categories included adjectival, consequence, purpose, complement clauses) and to record for later consideration all instances which did not seem clearly to belong to some category other than complement clause. The process of analysis then led to the inclusion of some of these, and the rejection of others. Thus although the data on which the analysis is based will necessarily have a somewhat arbitrary boundary, there is in its method of collection the implicit claim that what was omitted is open to some better classification. So, a group of examples which the demands of a satisfactory analysis imply should be treated together as complement structures is illustrated in (15)-(17).

- (15) i.208.28 Cristis armure is good to ech Cristen
[sic MS] man to hav, ...

(16) i.183.13 and þis purpos is nedeful Cristen
men to have.

(17) i.128.34 þe tixt of Goddis lawe is perelous
to trowe.

Here at first sight it might seem as if the infinitive should be treated as an adverbial of respect. But the group as a whole is best treated together as complement structures (see §5.1.3.2).

It is worth mentioning some of the cases which were excluded. The type HAVE NP TO VP was omitted when TO VP was not in apposition to NP, or dependent upon it as a complement clause like (13); so also with other verbs of having and lacking: BRYNGE, CHESE, FAILE, 3YVE, WANTE. Here the infinitive may well be adverbial or adjectival (if such a classification is valuable) but there is no reason to suppose a close relationship with the verb, nor any advantage in an analysis as complement structure.

(18) ii.264.2 'God 3af him a prikke of his fleish,
an angel of þe fend to tempte him.'

(19) ii.83.1 But how many enemyes haþ God, to turne
men fro þis lawe!

(20) i.23.6 for Alisaundre and Julius leften myche to
conquere, ...

(21) ii.56.1 and it is licly of þe gospel þat þis water
was closid wiþ stoon, 'and hadde fyve portis,' to
come þerto.

Also excluded (eg) are certain instances of the infinitive with TRAVEILE, WORCHE; PROFITE, SERVE; TAKE MEDE; TURNE, WENDE because these seemed better called 'adverbial', and see also the cases listed in §5.2.1.5(G).

(22) ii.236.4 Of þis joie shulden men þenken evere,
and joifulli traveile to gete þis; ...

- (23) ii.258.18 'For þei traveilen for þis ende, to
take britul crowne' here, 'but men traveilen
in Goddis cause to take a crown þat never may
faile.'
1 Cor 9.25 et illi quidem, ut corruptibilem
coronam accipiant: nos autem incorruptam.
- (24) i.199.24 And to distroie þis heresie shulden
lordis traveilen bisili, ...
- (25) i.105.18 and so what harmes comen in þis world,
profiten unto þis world, eiper to make good þing
beter, oper to make good anewe, or ellis to preyse
God and to joie for payne þat is to men in helle.
- cf (26) i.167.8 And so shulden we lerne þat vynes ben
trees þat profiten not to mennis work but in
beryng of her fruyt.

(27), in which TO VP is the subject, and (28) in which it has been taken
as object were however included, as were (29) and (30).

- (27) i.37.27 For what wolde it profite to man 'to
bisye him þus about his bodi, siþ he may not
cast þerto a cubite, ...'
- (28) ii.246.16 but alle þer dedis shulde come to þis,
þat þei profiten to þe bodi of the Chirche; and
þanne þei profiten to ech membre, and to worshipe
Jesus Crist.
(Arnold = MS)
- (29) ii.79.15 and so þis puple and þer leders: ben
blynde to go þe weie of Crist/
(MS punctuation)
- (30) i.30.29 and so weren þei deef to heere of God.
what þei shulden do/
(MS punctuation; cf i.72.9 deef men fro Goddis word)

Finally, one area of grammar has been accorded a distinct treat-
ment. Plain infinitives after CUNNE, SHAL, WILLE and the other 'pre-
modals' have not been collected, but only infinitives with (FOR) TO
and clauses. There is however a discussion of their grammar in
chapter 4.

Apart from the problem of deciding the boundary of the data to
be described, there are also problems of ambiguity and neutralization.

Sometimes an important structural fact about the language is involved, and such cases are noted. But many cases of ambiguity do not have sufficient systematic significance to be worth an explicit account and here I have tried to reach a reasonable decision on grounds of better translation in context, manuscript punctuation, or fit with the Vulgate, and have classified the constructions accordingly. I have however treated $\hat{P}US$ more cavalierly: it occurs quite frequently before a verb with a clausal object so that it might be taken as a connective, or as an adverb in apposition with the clause, eg

- (31) i.37.32 wel Y wote bi my bileve $\hat{p}at$ no man shulde
faile of mete unto harmynge of his soule ... and
 $\hat{p}us$ Y rede $\hat{p}at$ God bad foulis and pore folk fede
his prophete, and fedde him as best was to profite
of his soule.

Here I have resolved ambiguous cases by treating preverbal $\hat{P}US$ as the connective: 'consequently, and so', and postverbal $\hat{P}US$ as the adverb $\hat{P}US$ in apposition with the clause. Clear cases have of course been treated on their merits.

1.7.5 Problems of Vulgate translation and syntactic connexity.

There is one major possibility of difficulty in the interpretation of the text, and it involves the status of passages translated from the Vulgate. Are they fully syntactically connex with what precedes and follows? Or would what belonged to the appointed text for the day have been distinguished paralinguistically (as red underlining for presumed oral delivery may imply), perhaps by pause and change of pitch level, so that then it was clear what was text and what was comment? And if this is the case, to what extent will the two levels of text and comment be interpretable as syntactically connex? The kind of examples in question are these:

- (32) ii.81.10 'Þis' Crist 'markide God þe fadir', for
to 3yve þe mete of vertues.
John 6.27 Hunc enim Pater signavit Deus.
- (33) i.188.18 But Crist techip hise disciplis to 'joie
more of þis, þat her names ben writun in hevene,'
for to come to blisse.
Luke 10.20 gaudete autem, quod nomina vestra
scripta sunt in coelis.
- (34) ii.229.37 'but Y iuge not mysilf,' þat Y serve
treuly þe Lord and mynystre to his servauntis
as he wole; 'for al3if Y have no conscience' þat
Y do a3ens Goddis wille, 3it it sueþ not hereof
'þat Y am just' bifore God, ...
1 Cor 4.3 sed neque meipsum judico. Nihil enim
mihi conscius sum: sed non in hoc justificatus
sum: ...

Here we might imagine that (32) could more appropriately be punctuated:

Þis (Crist) markide God þe fadir — for to 3yve þe
mete of vertues.

and that there might be no possibility of the sequence MARKE NP TO VP
which was not 'excused' in this way. Similarly (33) or (34) might
best be translated as follows:

'their names are written in heaven, they being to come to bliss/
so that they are to come to bliss'

'I do not judge myself — that is, judge that I serve the
Lord truly, ... for even if I lack the inward consciousness
— that is, that I act against God's will ...'

Two points may be made here. The first is that such lack of connexity
is a more general possibility, and distributional parallels can be
used to show whether or not JUGE NP ÞAT S or MARKE NP TO VP are sequences
in which ÞAT S and TO VP may subcategorize the verb. This applies to
examples which contain the transition from Vulgate translation to
comment, as to other examples; however, since a special doubt attaches
to instances containing this transition, I have always noted its
presence in analysis, and sought parallels which did not contain it.
The second point is that apart from a particular difficulty discussed

below such instances are not a very frequent problem. Much of the appointed translation is not intercalated. Even when it is, much of it seems to be so thoroughly part of the English that it is difficult to conceive of any serious failure of connexity, cf (eg) the long passage beginning at ii.261.24. Since it seems generally satisfactory to treat the underlined translation as fully connex, I have not isolated such instances when giving figures of occurrence.

The particular area of difficulty concerns examples with BIDDE:

- (35) ii.233.25 *ƿe ƿridde tyme Poul biddiþ þat, 'we
shulde not be bisie'.
Phil 4.6 Nihil solliciti sitis: ...*

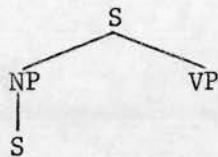
I argue below that in clauses after BIDDE which contain a precept shulde is particularly common and that this could be a result of the spread of shulde into such clauses historically first of all into those in which the sense 'ought to' would be suitable in main clauses. But what if the clause after BIDDE is not fully indirect statement, is open to blending with direct speech features (namely shulde 'ought to') precisely because of the transition from sermon to rubricated Vulgate quote, which is fairly common after BIDDE? However, if we remove from our data for BIDDE all instances where BIDDE is not part of Vulgate translation but is followed by a ƿAT-clause containing a finite verb which is underlined as Vulgate translation, we find that there is still abundant confirmation of the distinctions between ƿAT S : NP TO VP and shulde : subjunctive which are posited in §3.4 and §5.3. In short, I have found no real evidence that transitions to and from translations of the Vulgate are not interpretable syntactically straightforwardly as part of the ordinary sermon text.

1.8 A Brief Introduction to PE Complement Constructions

Here I will provide a brief outline of the PE grammar of complement clauses in so far as constructions subcategorizing verbs (rather than nouns) are concerned. The outline is intended to serve as orientation for what is to follow, and is not a complete or a justified account. Some comparative remarks about WSerE will also be added. This outline is based on the work of Rosenbaum (1967a,b) as modified by various later writers (most importantly Lakoff 1966; Bresnan 1970, 1972; Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971).

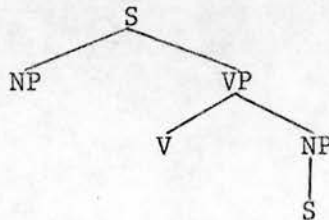
The deep structures posited contain complement clauses in subject position, and in the object positions of monotransitive and ditransitive structures: they are essentially the structures illustrated in §1.7.4, which I repeat here for convenience, with examples of surface sentences which preserve the same schematic structure.

Subject Complement



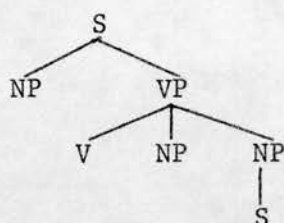
That John hates Susan is embarrassing.
For John to hate Susan would be embarrassing.
John's hating Susan is embarrassing.

Object Complement (Monotransitive structure)



Paul said that Mary would kick John.
 Paul was not happy for Mary to kick John.
 Paul regretted Mary's kicking John.

Object Complement (Ditransitive Structure)



Paul told Mary that she should be ashamed.
 Paul told Mary to be ashamed.
 Paul accused Mary of being callous.

Rosenbaum (1967a,b) assumed that there was recursion of the node S under both NP and VP, hence writing rules for 'Noun Phrase Complementation' ($NP \rightarrow \dots S$) and 'Verb Phrase Complementation' ($VP \rightarrow \dots S$). Since then, however, the existence of Verb Phrase Complementation has been somewhat contentious, and we may not unreasonably take it that 'Noun Phrase Complementation' is what is involved when a clause occurs within the verb phrase, as well as when it appears in subject position. For some discussion of this see chapter 2, where I attempt to defend the NP status of WSerE complement clauses. Rosenbaum dubbed the items that, for ... to, 's ... ing of

That John is coming on Friday is a nuisance.
For John to come on Friday will be a nuisance.
 John 's coming on Friday is a nuisance.

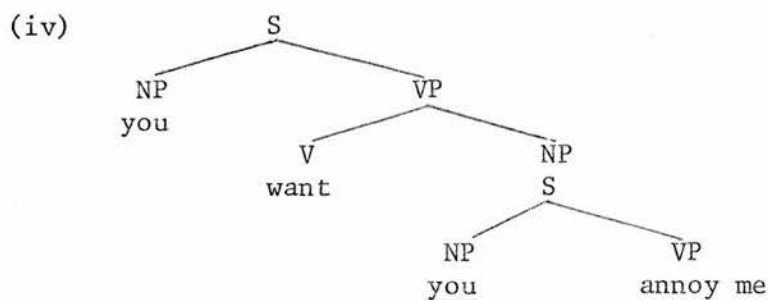
'Complementizers', and he inserted them by transformation. There is, however, clearly a mutual expectancy between matrix verb and complementizer (Lakoff 1968), and it has been argued that contrasts between complementizers are meaningful (Anscombe 1967, Bladon 1968, Bolinger 1968a, Bresnan 1970, 1972). I assume with Bresnan both that

complementizers are present in deep structure and subcategorize verbs, despite the arguments of Bonney (1976), and that indirect questions are also headed by a complementizer ('WH'). Instead, however, of calling infinitive marking a complementizer, I shall simply refer to nonfinite clauses, and generally talk of the finite : nonfinite opposition.

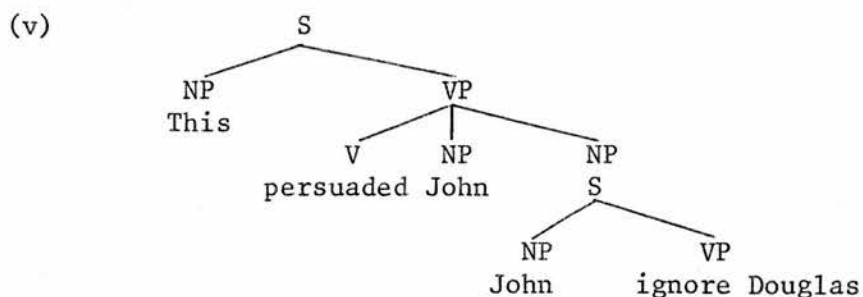
These deep structures are mapped into surface structures by a sequence of rules which includes COMPLEMENTIZER DELETION to delete PE THAT, FOR (as WSerE $\bar{P}AT$) under certain conditions, and a rule to account for the PE variation TO : ZERO, (as the ME variation FOR TO : TO : ZERO). In consequence I regularly use the term $\bar{P}AT$ -clause to refer generally to finite clauses even when $\bar{P}AT$ has been deleted, and TO VP to refer to infinitives, whether preceded by ZERO, TO or FOR TO. The mapping from deep to surface structure also involves:

EQUI NP DELETION (which will, in accordance with common practice be called EQUI hereafter).

This rule deletes the subject of a complement clause to yield a PE infinitive or gerund, where the subject is 'recoverable' because it is under the 'control' of another 'identical' NP within the tree. Thus a sentence like You want to annoy me would be assigned the (schematic) deep structure (iv),



and This persuaded John to ignore Douglas would be assigned the (schematic) deep structure (v).

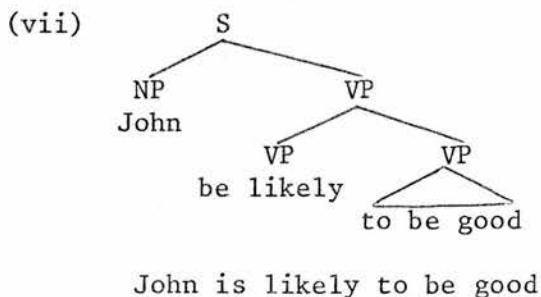
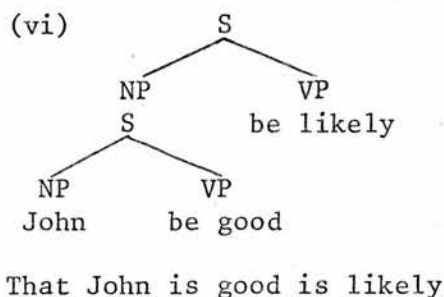


The rule of EQUI deletes the (underlined) subject of the complement clause under the condition that it is identical to a specified 'controller' NP. In Rosenbaum's presentation EQUI could not delete the subject of a THAT-clause but in WSerE the rule is perhaps not so constrained: this is discussed below in chapter 2. It is also possible in PE, as in WSerE under different conditions, for an indefinite dummy subject to be generated in deep structure. Thus the understood subject of an infinitive is not restricted to an EQUI controller.

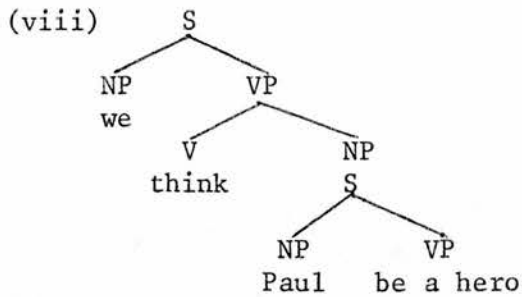
RAISING

This much debated rule has the effect of making the subject of the complement clause replace that clause, while its predicate becomes an infinitive after the matrix verb. It thus interrelates structures of the following kind:

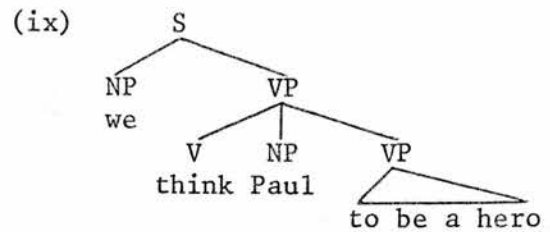
In subject position



In object position



We think that Paul is a hero

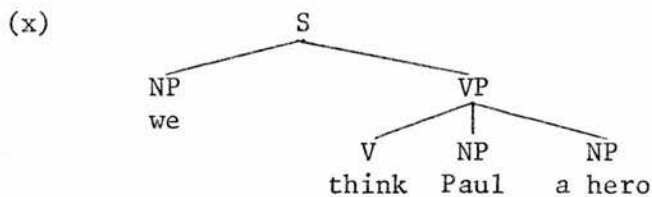


We think Paul to be a hero

The formulation of this rule has been much debated, as have the questions whether it forms one rule or two, and whether it exists at all. The account just given is effectively that of Postal (1974), Lakoff (1966) and not Rosenbaum (1967a).

TO BE DELETION

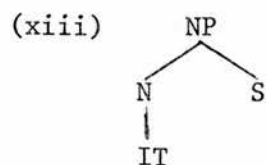
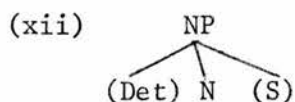
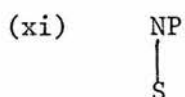
A rule deleting (TO)BE in structures like (viii) and (ix) above is often assumed. It would interrelate those structures and (x), granted a principle pruning verbless S nodes for (viii).



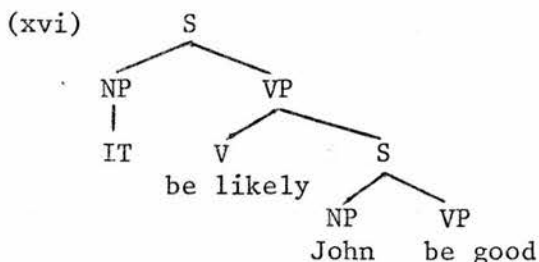
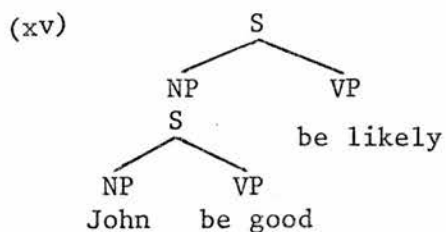
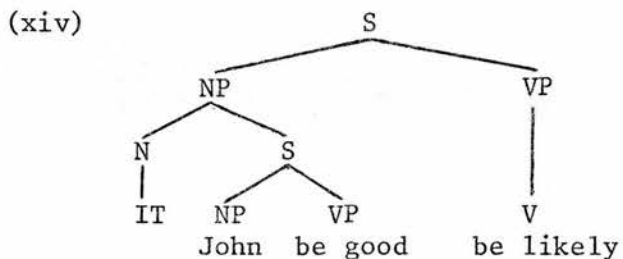
or John seems to be good, John seems good. There is a discussion of such structures in WSerE in chapter 5.

EXTRAPOSITION

Rosenbaum accounted for the interchange between complement clause in subject or object position and clause in 'extraposed' position with IT in subject or object position by generating not subtrees of the form (xi), but rather (xii), with the particular instantiation (xiii).



From this, either S was extraposed or IT deleted, giving us from the deep (xiv), the surface interrelation (xv) and (xvi).



That John is good is likely

It is likely that John is good

For my purposes a more satisfactory (though weaker) formulation is one in which the deep subtree is indeed of the form (xi), and the node S may be extraposed, leaving an empty node NP which is filled by IT as an obligatory part of the PE rule, an optional part of the LME rule (cf Stockwell et al 1973 p 598 and Emonds 1976 p 122).

PREPOSITION DELETION

In order to account for the alternation between PP and S in PE structures like (xvii)-(xix) Rosenbaum (1967a) proposed a rule which would delete a preposition which immediately preceded a complement clause headed by THAT or FOR, and WSerE shows a parallel alternation.

(xvii) John was happy for Mary to kiss George.

(xviii) John was happy that Mary should kiss George.

(xix) John was happy at Mary's kissing George.

1.9 Outline of This Thesis

This chapter has been concerned both to justify this piece of research, and to characterize the language of the sermons and outline the grammatical approach adopted. The body of the thesis which follows can be seen as consisting of two sections: the first, chapters 2-5, deals with topics which are central to the grammar of complement sentences in WSerE; the second section, chapters 6-8, develops topics of particular importance which demand wider investigation or which are less central. Chapter 9 provides a summary of major points, and could well be read first.

In the first section chapter 2 is essentially concerned with the category status of complement clauses and with the structure of NP TO VP, chapter 3 with the distinctions made within finite clauses and with the marking of such clauses with $\hat{P}AT$, and chapter 4 with the marking of infinitives. Chapter 5 is more generally concerned with complement clauses, dealing with the remaining rules and structures which characterize them and presenting an account of complement structures within the corpus. The remaining chapters then turn to topics which are more particular and detailed in focus: the distribution of nonfinite clauses after verbs of declaring, knowing and thinking in chapter 6, the distinctive fronted negative NE of $\hat{P}AT$ -clauses in a double negative context in chapter 7, and, finally, the grammar of deverbal nominals in -ING in chapter 8. After the summary of chapter 9 there follow two appendices. The first contains a brief account of reflexive pronouns because of the relevance of this area to the subject matter of chapter 2, and the second contains a list of the

verbs and adjectives found with complement constructions in the corpus with information about surface constructions and frequency and with references to particular examples to complete the account given in chapter 5.

2.0 Introduction

Several questions are quite fundamental to the grammar of complement clauses in WSerE and this chapter is devoted to an attempt to deal with them. Such results as are achieved are not final, and further research will doubtless improve and alter them. But the questions are important and must be asked even if the answers given are sometimes rather tentative.

The most immediate and practical question is that of the connexity of the sequence NP TO VP at both deep and surface levels, and this problem consequently comes first in §2.1. This structural question is bound up with the problem of the complementizer which occurs with nonfinite clauses, and this is therefore dealt with in §2.1.4. A more basic question follows, in §2.2. It is that of the category membership of complement clauses. They are, broadly speaking, clauses in 'nominal function' (§1.7.4), but are they necessarily dominated by the nodes NP and S, or should we admit (say) verb-phrase complementation, or an infinitive as simple NP/PP (as its history might suggest)? Finally in §2.3 there is a discussion of the relationship between finite and nonfinite clauses, in an attempt to see whether the patterning that exists between them needs to be accounted for syntactically.

2.1 The Sequence NP TO VP

2.1.0 The sequence NP TO VP raises several problems which will be dealt with in this and the following section. The term 'NP TO VP' is

used to mean 'surface complement infinitive with a subject.' The basic problem is to provide an adequate characterization of the structures involved, and this means discussing the following three topics:

(a) How can we tell whether NP TO VP represents one or two deep structure positions?

(b) Where NP TO VP does represent one deep structure position, to what extent does it behave as a connex and isolated structure, and to what extent does the NP behave as a member of the matrix clause?

(c) What initial complementizer occurs with one place NP TO VP?

We may grant that the finite : nonfinite opposition is basic in complement clauses (cf §2.3), hence perhaps calling infinitive marking a complementizer with Rosenbaum (1967a), and go on to ask what stands initial in the nonfinite clause: is it the oblique case (an 'accusative and infinitive'), or null (a 'nominative and infinitive'), or TO (like PE FOR), or is the answer more complex? These topics will be dealt with in order below, though discussion of the last point under (c) will be dealt with in §2.3.

2.1.1 First, though, a short discussion of other NP TO VP sequences with adjectival and predicative TO VP is necessary, since these must be distinguished from the infinitive clauses with which they have sometimes been confused. Two sets of cases are of particular importance. First, those which have been interpreted as involving TO VP and an associated predicate like (1) paralleled by (2), or as NP with adjectival infinitive like (3) paralleled by (4).

(1) ii.226.7 And þerfore Cristene men shulden þenke
shame to cloþe hem above wiþ raggis, and foule
þe worþi suyt of Crist, ...

(2) i.23.37 þei witen þat it were veyn to axe more
of þer God.

- (3) i.199.32 he 3af virtue to his wordis to converte
 þe peple, and of a soule þat first was nest of
 þe fend, to make a nest of God, to dwelle by
 grace and by virtues.
 '... to make a dwelling-place of God, which might
 endure by means of grace and virtues.'
- (4) ii.246/247 preestis shulden be lyf to quyken þe
 comountees.

Secondly, the parallel constructions with NP TO VP having future or imperative force; these would seem to be straightforwardly related to NP BE TO VP which is found with exactly the same semantic spread, eg (5)-(7).

- (5) ii.63.30 'Mai 3e drynke þe cuppe þat Y am to drynke?'
 Matt 20.22 Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus
 sum?
- (6) i.77.26 'After me is to comen a man, þe whiche
 is made bifore me, ...'
 John 1.30 Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus
 est:...
- (7) i.227.11 curiouste of science or unskilful coveitise
 of cunnynge, is to dampne.

Zeitlin (1908) gives many such ME instances of NP TO VP in his chapter 5, discriminating several uses: 'Conjunctive-Imperative' (p 141), 'Future and Potential' (p 157) and 'Absolute Construction' (p 163). All of these could readily be derived by a rule which deleted BE in NP BE TO VP, and I will consider them to be predicative (or adjectival) infinitives related to NP BE TO VP rather than a separate group of uses of the infinitive. These constructions are found in positions where the distinction between them and a nonfinite clause is neutralized, mainly with the infinitive TO COME in WSerE, as in (8) and (9), or (10) from the Wyclifite Bible.*

* Forshall and Madden (1850). The Early Version and Later Version are simply referred to as EV and LV, while 'the Wyclifite Bible' is generally abbreviated to 'WBib'. In quotation <v> has been substituted for <u> where appropriate.

- (8) ii.57.18 And, for þis is passid now, and we
trowen not þis aftir to come, ...
'And because this [ie the resurrection] is over
now and we do not believe that it will yet come, ...'
- (9) i.154.24 'Alle þis haþ Crist spoke to his disciplis
þat whan tyme comeþ of hem, þei shulden þan have
mynde þat he haþ seid hem þes perelis to come.'
cf John 16.4, but the construction does not correspond.
- (10) Judith 16.6 EV And he seide hymself to brennen up
oure costis, ...
LV And he seide, that he shulde brenne my coostis, ...
Dixit se incensurum fines meos, ...

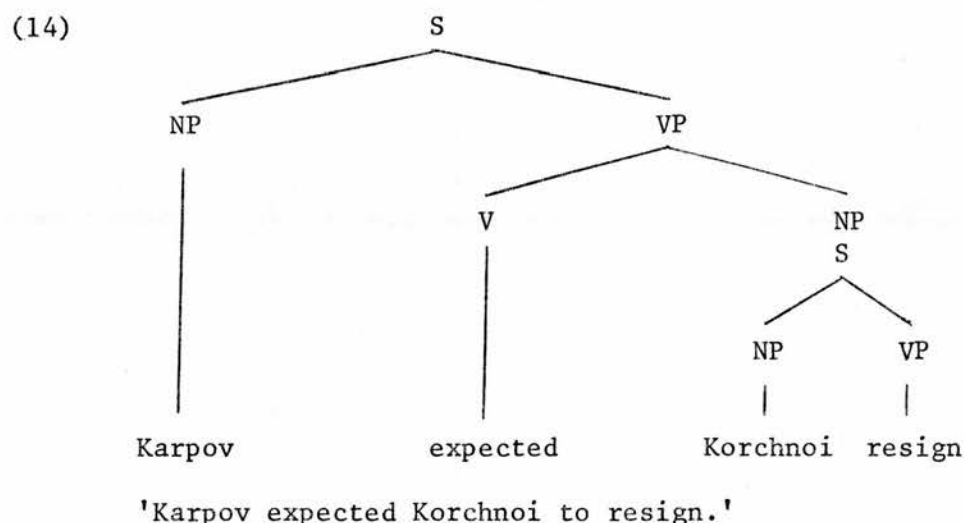
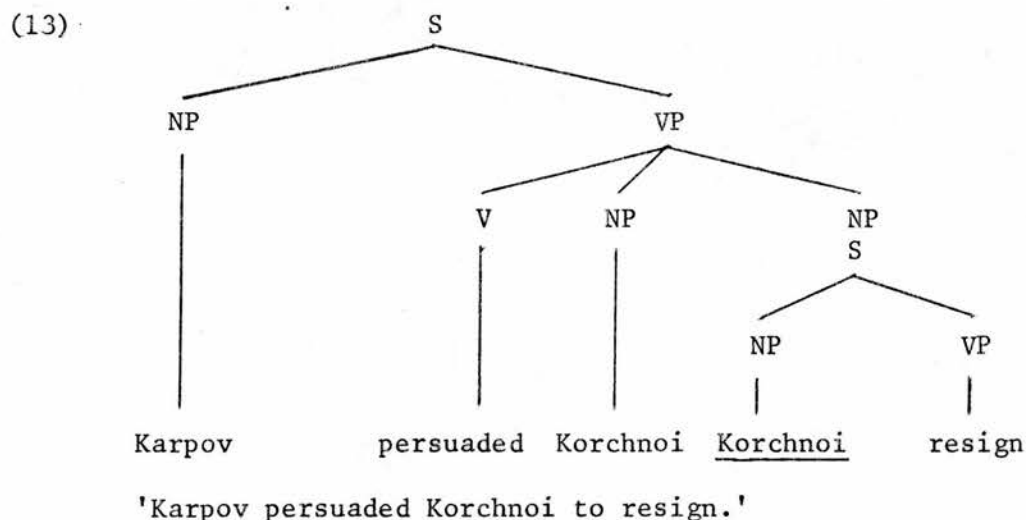
Structurally though these could be nonfinite clauses, they seem better taken as sequences NP + PRED (= 'PREDICATE'): 'we do not believe that this is to come' in (8) and similarly (10), or NP + adjectival infinitive in (9): 'he has told them these perils which are to come.' A further set of examples which has been important in dealing with the Wyclifite Bible rather than the sermons is clearly illustrated by (11) and (12): here an analysis with NP + PRED related to NP BE TO VP is clearly appropriate, though the distinction with nonfinite clause is neutralized.

- (11) Exodus 23.21 EV ne wene thou hym to be dispisid, ...
LV nether gesse thou hym to be dispisid; ...
nec contemnendum putes; ...
- (12) 2 Mac 3.13 EV he saide ... hem for to be born to
the kyng.
LV he seide ... tho shulden be borun ...
dicebat ... regi ea esse deferenda.

2.1.2 NP TO VP: one or two deep structure places?

This distinction is traditional going back at least to Grimm: traditional too is the debate over the firmness with which it can be drawn. The basic distinction may be straightforwardly illustrated

for object complements by assigning a ditransitive structure to PERSUADE, as in (13), and a monotransitive structure to EXPECT, as in (14). The rule of EQUI deletes the (underlined) lower subject after PERSUADE, and the final surface structure is the same as that found with EXPECT after the lower subject in (14) has been raised.



For transitive structures Huddleston (1971 p 154 et seq) and Rosenbaum (1967a) drew this distinction on various grounds: the lack of paraphrase between active and passive NP TO VP after PERSUADE contrasted

with their equivalence after EXPECT, so that (15) \neq (16) but (17) = (18); the failure of EXPECT to select the NP, and reject existential THERE as PERSUADE does; and the parallel occurrences of NP and finite clause objects (so, persuade John that ... but not expect John that ...).

(15) Paul persuaded John to kiss Mary.

(16) Paul persuaded Mary to be kissed by John.

(17) Paul expected Mary to slap John.

(18) Paul expected John to be slapped by Mary.

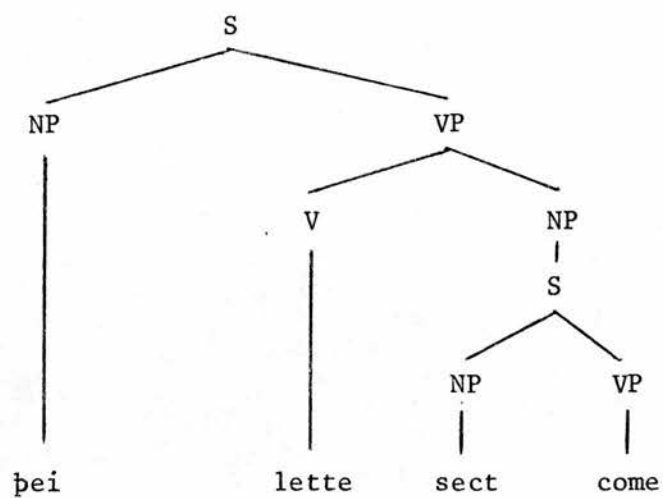
The distinction has not been accepted in this form by everybody (cf eg Postal 1974), but there is a certain amount of psycholinguistic evidence which points to its validity (cf Bach 1977 p 629), and it may be regarded as providing at least a valuable first approximation. In drawing it, however, I do not mean to imply that there may not be intermediate relationships, or plentiful cases in which the distinction is neutralized.

The distinction, then, is that between (21) and (22) as schematic deep structures for (19), and (23) and (24) as schematic deep structures for (20), where EQUI deletes the subject of the embedded clause in (22) and (24) yielding surface NP TO VP in each case. I shall henceforth refer to NP TO VP derived from two deep structure places as in (22) and (24) as 'NP-TO VP', and to NP TO VP derived from one deep structure place as in (21) and (23) as '(NP TO VP)'.

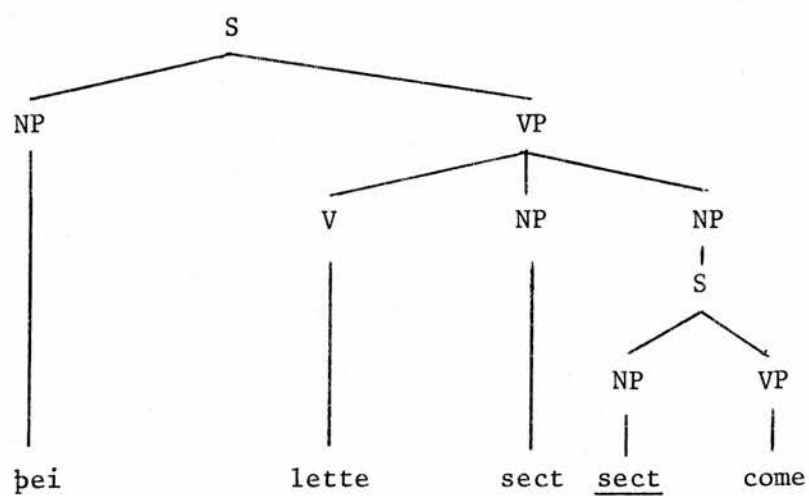
(19) ii.260.4 þei letten in lyf and bileve Cristis
sect to come to blis.

(20) i.200.6 It is leefful us to take þese two, ...

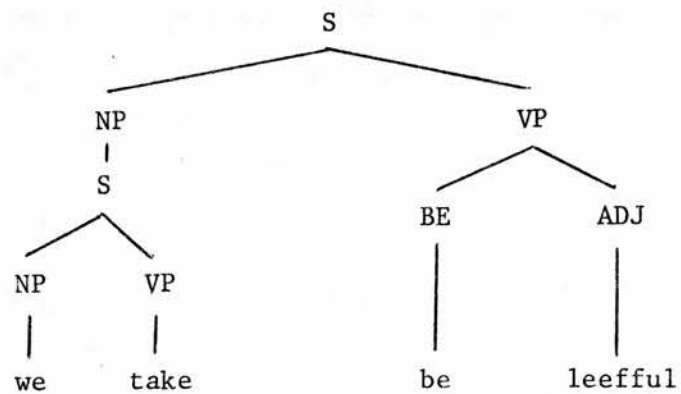
(21)



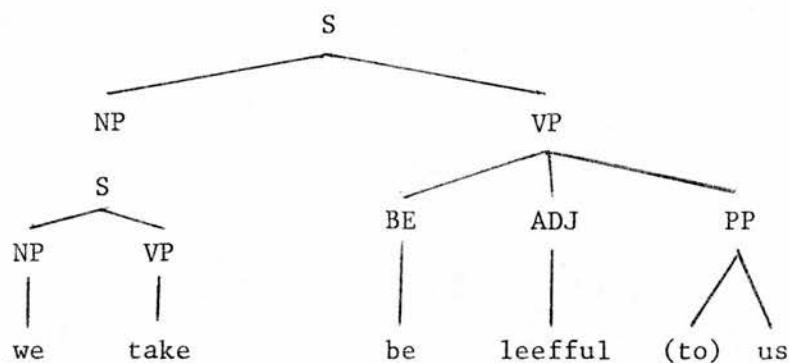
(22)



(23)



(24)



For PE the distinction can be drawn on various grounds. The most important criterion for WSerE is the readily applicable one of parallel construction: if a verb is found followed by NP(P)NP, NP + clause, NP + direct speech in the same sense as with NP TO VP, then a generalization may be missed without a two-place analysis. Similarly, parallel occurrence with a single NP object argues for the possibility of a monotransitive analysis, and for its regularity if no ditransitive parallels are found. The situation with subject clauses is similar. Thus BIDDE occurs with both monotransitive and ditransitive parallels, and the sequence NP TO VP after it is plausibly interpreted both as single object (when passive as in (26)), or as double object (as in (29)), depending on semantic appropriacy (cf the Vulgate).

- (25) i.248.26 Crist biddiþ first þat hise servantis
'wake', ...
- (26) i.108.18 but Jesus biddiþ sicke blynde men to be
brouȝt to him in þer bileve; ...
- (27) ii.62.23 But Crist ... biddiþ us 'Nyle ȝe be
clepid maistris,' ...
- (28) ii.225.13 siþ Crist biddiþ men of his suyt þat
þei shulden not have two cootis.
- (29) i.29.36 'And Crist bade þes men to publishe not
þis myracle;' ...
Mark 7.36 Et praecepit illis ne cui dicerent.

Similarly, the commutation of NP TO VP with both (TO) NP \bar{P} AT S and \bar{P} AT S as well as with TO NP - TO VP is shown in constructions with BIHETE 'promise':

- (30) i.180.21 he \bar{p} at may not lye bihetip \bar{p} at his
servaunt shal be \bar{p} ere, ...
- (31) 2 Mac 8.36 LV (= EV) And he that bihi₃te hym for
to restore tribute to Romayns, ...
Et qui promiserat Romanis se tributum restituere ...
(NP TO VP)
- (32) ii.227.28 God bihi₃t to Abraham \bar{p} at in his seed
he shulde blesse al maner of folk, ...
- (33) i.157.3 and herfor he bihi₃t hem \bar{p} at he shulde
leve hem pees.
- (34) ii.53.22 Crist biheetip to \bar{p} es men, 'If $\bar{3}$ e dwellen
in my word, $\bar{3}$ e shal be verreli my disciplis, ...'
- (35) i.99.11 herfore he bihetip to hem to $\bar{3}$ yve hem \bar{p} at
were ri₃tful.
TO NP - TO VP
- (36) i.60.16 many indulgensis, wi \bar{p} lettris of fraternite,
 \bar{p} at bihotip him to come to hevene, ...
? (NP TO VP), NP - TO VP

On the other hand, SEE NP TO VP and MAKE NP TO VP are paralleled by monotransitive constructions with NP and \bar{P} AT S, but not by appropriate ditransitive instances: the sense of MAKE NP OF NP, MAKE NP TO NP as well as the distribution of the elements involved, is different. Here instances of the sequence NP + PRED, as in (37), have not been taken as occupying two separate places in deep structure, nor have structures like (38) and (39) discussed in chapter 5, and interpreted as showing a distinctive structural type.

- (37) i.182.7 \bar{p} ei maken hem martirs for \bar{p} e love of God; ...
'they make themselves martyrs for the love of God'
- (38) ii.68.4 Sum prestis ... undirstoden not \bar{p} is parable,
bi what men it was seid, ...

- (39) i.174.31 [God] ... mai not forȝete synne to punishe
it whanne it is tyme, ...

Reflexive pronouns after verbs, however, have been taken to occupy a deep place, even where the reflexive shows only limited contrast as with DREDE: a different analysis is briefly proposed in Appendix 1.

The evidence of WSerE has been supplemented from dictionaries and other sources. But these tests nevertheless provide only a first approximation, and even along with the tests considered below in §2.1.3 leave many cases doubtful. Thus it is clear that CONFORTE, MOVE, STIRE may occur with a deep ditransitive, but not whether there may also be a one place (NP TO VP) construction with them. LETE and SUFFRE seem to allow both monotransitive and ditransitive NP TO VP, but one cannot be sure whether both occur or whether examples are in fact restricted to one type. Similarly there are cases with JUGE which neutralize the distinction between a ditransitive structure and that found in (38) and (39), and leave its analysis somewhat doubtful. Semantic criteria have only been used to distinguish between established syntactic possibilities, as with BIDDE above. Thus the fact that the NP after MOVE is always human (or inalienably possessed) and always interpretable as an object tends to confirm the existence of a ditransitive option, while the lack of any such restrictions with MAKE is consonant with a monotransitive structure. But such criteria must be secondary to more purely distributional criteria.

The indelicate nature of these tests can be seen by considering an example like (40). This might seem to be interpretable not only as (NP TO VP), but also as NP - TO VP where siche obedience is a deep object and TO VP is in some kind of apposition to it, as in the type

of (39), or perhaps also with verbs of perception. However, although a ditransitive analysis might be appropriate, there is no real evidence to suggest that we need to posit a separate construction type. This conclusion of course may simply reflect the indelicate and preliminary nature of these structural tests. But with this caveat in mind, it can nonetheless be said that these tests lead to a reasonable classification of infinitive clauses which is presented in chapter 5.

- (40) i.116.3 Crist axide not sicke obedience to be
done to him, ...

It is more difficult to be confident about a double analysis of the sequence NP TO VP where the infinitive is deep subject. But we may regard the possibility of a double analysis as established by parallels like (41)-(46), and the existence of a connex (NP TO VP) type is implied by the manuscript punctuation of (47)-(49). It is, however, not in general possible to discriminate specific cases as (NP TO VP) or NP - TO VP, since the preposition TO need not always appear before an 'affected' NP in the matrix sentence (as MS punctuation in (45) implies).

- (41) ii.90.20 it was no nede to him þat ony shulde bere
witnesses of man, ...
- (42) Cursor Mundi (ed Morris, EETS, OS 57 etc) 20225
Now is ned þat i haf o þe devil na dred.
(OED Need, sb. 4.a.)
- (43) i.146.35 /perfore it were nede to hem to knowe
witt of þes wordis/
(MS punctuation)
- (44) i.13.23 It is noo nede to depe us in þis stori ...
- (45) ii.335.38 /And for it is nede here men to be
temptid many weies:
(MS punctuation)

- (46) i.144.4 þei seen clerely in God· how it is nede
 al þis to be/
 (MS punctuation)
- (47) i.154.9 /for þei defenden þat it is leveful and
 medeful: preestis for to fiȝt in cause þat þei
 feynen Goddis/
 (MS punctuation)
 ? (NP TO VP)
- (48) i.183.13 /and þis purpos is nedeful: Cristen men
 to have/
 (MS punctuation. MS contains to deleted before
 Cristen men)
 ? (NP TO VP)
- (49) i.382.16 Crist prechide ofte· now at mete and
 now at soper/ and what time þat it was covenable·
 ony peple to heere him/
 (MS punctuation)

Thus although some instances look (on grounds of translation) like reasonable connex nonfinite clauses, and others seem equally well interpreted with NP in the matrix clause it is simply not possible to make the distinction in most cases, as in (50) and (51); (however, cf Zeitlin 1908 p 128 for clear later examples of (NP TO VP) from Fisher with passive infinitive).

- (50) i.238.15 /Perfore is nede hem to wite: what dedis
 þat þei shulden do
 (MS punctuation)
- (51) ii.88.9 /þat Crist wroot here as myche: as was
 nedeful us to cunne/
 (MS punctuation)

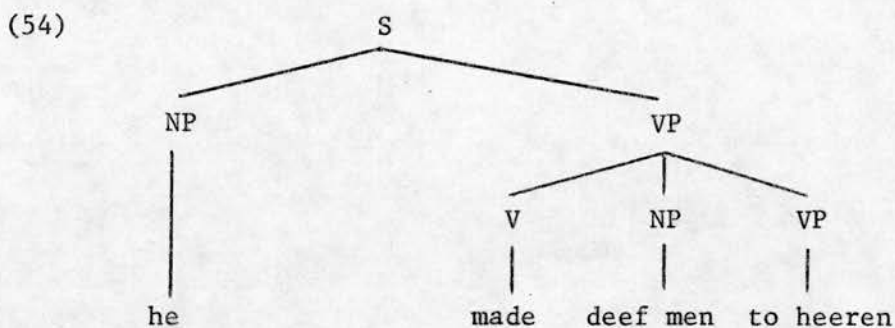
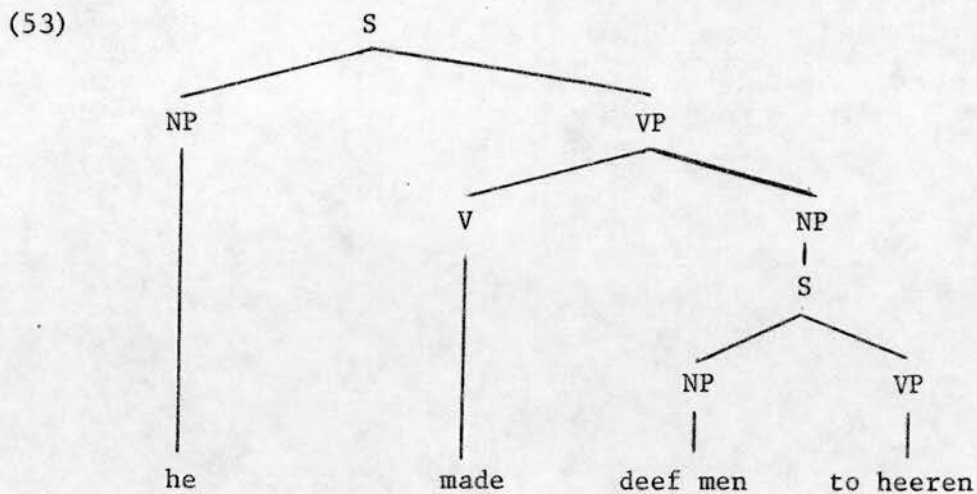
2.1.3 (NP TO VP) in surface structure.

2.1.3.0 Two major interrelated questions are raised in this section: firstly, to what extent does the NP of (NP TO VP) behave as a member of the matrix clause, and, secondly, to what extent does (NP TO VP) behave as a single constituent? Clearly the tests discussed below as showing

that NP belongs to the matrix clause may equally show a two place deep structure NP - TO VP, and some mention will be made of this where appropriate.

Many analyses of PE and other languages have proposed that NP of object (NP TO VP) should (by various mechanisms) change its clause membership, so that the deep subject of TO VP becomes the surface object of the matrix verb (see §1.8, and in particular Postal 1974). Transformations such as PASSIVE and REFLEXIVE will then be restricted so as to affect only members of the same clause, or 'clause mates'. Chomsky (1973) however proposed a series of conditions on transformations as part of an alternative and supposedly more constrained approach to grammar. So, for example, instead of a 'clause mate' condition on PASSIVE and REFLEXIVE which prevents them from affecting the subject of a THAT-clause, along with other NPs not in the same clause, Chomsky proposed the more general condition that transformations should not be permitted to cross the boundary of a tensed clause. But PASSIVE and REFLEXIVE might still affect the subject of a nonfinite clause. Hence in this theory there is no RAISING to object position, and the implication is that for monotransitive sentences like (52) the deep and surface structure will be essentially the same, schematically (53), and not the distinct (53) and (54) as with RAISING.

(52) i.31.4 for he made deef men to heeren ...



The balanced assessment and cautious defence of RAISING provided by Bach (1977) is impressive, but the issue is unresolved, and is largely the product of different theoretical approaches; for a defence of Chomsky's approach see especially Lightfoot (1976a). One might have hoped for arguments for these approaches from the history of English, but convincing support has yet to be found. Thus Lightfoot (1977) argues for the Extended Standard Theory from the premiss that several changes in the history of English are roughly simultaneous, but the data is far from clear. Kageyama (1975) can be construed as containing a historical argument for an approach with RAISING to object position, but the argument would be rather thin. Thus for WSerE the important questions are those outlined at the beginning of this section, and not any attempt to discriminate between these two approaches to grammar.

2.1.3.1 Movement transformations and conjunction have not been useful indicators of structure as might have been imagined. The NP of (NP TO VP) may be moved (or deleted) by TOPICALIZATION as in (55), RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION as in (56) and PASSIVE as in (57).^{*} This is fully discussed in §5.1.3.5.

(55) i.31.5 For men deefid in Goddis lore he made
to heere what God spake in hem, ...

(56) ii.174.2 for Goddis werk shulde not be lettid for
þing þat men supposen to falle.

(57) i.179/180 A man is seid to love his lyf, þat
loveþ it more þan oþer þing; ...

The occurrence of PASSIVE here apparently shows NP behaving as a member of the matrix clause, and this is part of the answer to our question. But this does not necessarily supply evidence for a derived two place NP TO VP, for although the occurrence of PASSIVE has often been taken as evidence for RAISING of NP into object position (so, eg Postal 1974 esp p 41), even within the framework of theoretical assumptions underlying such analyses this is not necessarily so: PASSIVE may be ordered before RAISING to subject position and produce the same structure (as pointed out by Kimball 1972).

Conjunction has not in practice been useful either, despite Chomsky's remark (1957 p 36) "the possibility of conjunction offers one of the best criteria for the initial determination of phrase structure." It corroborates the analysis of NP - TO VP in examples like (58).

(58) ii.11.24 Joon movede men to mekenesse, and to
þenke on þe dai of dome, ...

* In PE TOPICALIZATION is usually taken to front NP, but generally in this thesis the term is used for fronting processes which may affect a wider class of elements.

But conditions on conjunction in PE provide an area of semigrammaticality (cf Chomsky 1957 chapter 5.2 and note 2, Gleitman 1965) so that conjunction need not imply strict structural equivalence, and the implication of examples like (59) and (60) is that the same holds for WSerE.

(59) ii.71/2 pinkyng and rysyng of men to come ...

(60) ii.238.17 Poul telliþ in þis epistle what fredom
men shulden use, and leve service of þe olde lawe, ...

It is not clear, then, that anything can be deduced from instances like the following (cf PE parallels in Jespersen MEG part 5 p 8).

(61) i.21.27 worchyng bi riȝt lyf, endid after Goddis
wille, makip a man Goddis child and come to þe
blisse of hevene.

(62) i.346.33 It makip a man mery and glad, and
suffre al þat fallip to him; ...

A further standard test for behaviour as a member of the matrix clause in PE is REFLEXIVIZATION. Typically, however, in WBib (where there are ample examples) verbs with (NP TO VP) do not take a SILF-marked reflexive pronoun with any regularity. With verbs of saying and thinking the proportion of SILF-marked to unmarked reflexives in my collection from WBib is 3:5.* However with verbs that are more clearly ditransitive (eg DISPOSE, 3YVE, MOVE) similar variation is found in WSerE. This might seem to give evidence that NP behaves at least sometimes as a member of the matrix clause, except for the fact that a SILF-marked pronoun may occur as a sentential subject, and it is by no means clear initially what the conditions on the occurrence of WSerE reflexives are.

* 16:25, counting as only 1 those instances where EV and LV have the same construction. The collection is described in chapter 6.

- (63) 1 John 2.4 EV He that seith him for to have
knowe God, ...
Qui dicit se nosse eum, ...
- (64) Apoc 2.9 EV hem, that seien hem silf for to be Jewes, ...
qui se dicunt Judaeos esse, ...

This topic is discussed briefly in Appendix 1, where it is concluded that REFLEXIVIZATION in WSerE implies nothing for the structure of (NP TO VP).

There are, however, other more satisfactory distributional pointers to the status of NP and (NP TO VP).

2.1.3.2 Facts indicating a surface connex (NP TO VP).

(a) There are instances of (NP TO VP) apparently treated as an entity by transformation.

EXTRAPOSITION:

- (65) ii.416.29 /but it passip felowship oo pope to
distrie anopir:
(MS punctuation)
- (66) i.240.9 /And Caiphas pat 3af 3ou conceil: seide
it helpiþ o man to die for þe folk/
(MS punctuation. MS E: þat o man dye)
John 18.14 Quia expedit unum hominem mori pro
populo.
EV it spedith o man for to deie for the peple.
LV it spedith, that o man die for the puple.

Further examples in Visser (II §§911, 912, 924), Zeitlin (1908 p 119 et seq). There are other possible WSerE examples, but these two show NP least likely to be an 'affected' NP in the matrix clause.

PASSIVE:

- (67) Baruch 6.39 EV Hou therfore is it to be gessid,
or to be saide, hem for to be goddis; ...
Quomodo ergo aestimandum est, aut dicendum,
illos esse deos?
(the type of conjunction found here may also imply
that NP TO VP is a constituent)

- (68) Pecock, Repressor 524 so it is, that sectis and
religiouns to be mad with inne the comoun Cristen
religioun ... is not weerned and forboden bi
Holi Scripture
(quoted from Schmidt 1900 p 113; he quotes another:
Repressor p 189)

LEFT DISLOCATION:*

- (69) 'As Reson Rywlyde', 16
þe modir to se hir sone so blede,
It kittip myn herte as with a knyf.
(Political etc Poems, ed Furnivall, EETS, OS 15.
Quoted from Visser II §910)
- (70) 'A Sone! Tak Hede'
Me, here to leve, & þe, hennys þus go,
hit is to me gret care & endeles wo.
(Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century,
ed Brown, no 128 line 3; Visser II §912)

Further examples in Visser (II §§905, 910, 924, ?985), and in Zeitlin
(1908 p 121 et seq).

(b) (NP TO VP) is also found in positions where RAISING as
traditionally formulated can hardly be in question: in subject posi-
tion, in apposition, and after þAN (since þAN is used as a conjunction
and not a preposition until the sixteenth century (OED Than, conj.
1.b.)).

- (71) Dream Book 80 A man to soweyn kokyl bitoknith
evelis and stryf
(ed Förster, Archiv 127 (1911) p 36; quoted
from Visser II §905)
- (72) Matthew (1880) p 25 For god seiþ þe ysaye þat a
man to turmente his hed and peyne his bodi only
is not þat fast þe whiche god chees, but þis is
þe fast þat god ches; a man to breke þe bondis
of synne & do werkis of mercy to poore men &
nedi.
(Zeitlin 1908 p 124)
- (73) i.136.16 And so no þing is falser þan ypocritis
to boste þus, ...

* This copies NP in a position before the sentence leaving a
pronoun copy.

- (74) ii.396.28 more abhominacioun was nevere, þan
an ypocrite to stonde þus, ...

Further examples: Visser (II §905), Zeitlin (1908 p 119 et seq),
Schmidt (1900 p 113 et seq).

(c) WSerE contains an instance of reordering within NP TO VP
which would scarcely be an imaginable example of 'scrambling' after
NP had been raised, if we take scrambling to be a process which
reorders elements within the same clause (Ross 1967 §3.1.2).

- (75) i.267.16 And þus, for Goddis lawe commandiþ in
offringe to be devocion and hete of charite,
þerwiþ Goddis lawe biddiþ, in figure of þis, in
ech offringe to be salt offrid.

Although this refers to the Vulgate (Lev 2.13, Mark 9.48) it does not
reflect the Latin word order, and it seems that we have to do with
reordering within the subordinate clause. That would also be the most
reasonable interpretation of other examples, like the first subordinate
clause in (75), or (76), (77), (78) and perhaps (79) from EV, though
EV does not always reflect English idiom.

- (76) i.210.11 and siche blynde leden blynde men,
and maken falle boþe in þe lake.
- (77) Ecclesiastes 9.16 EV And I seide, betere to ben
wisdam than strengthe; ...
Et dicebam ego, meliorem esse sapientiam
fortitudine: ...
- (78) 1 Esdras 6.12 EV God forsothe, that maketh to
dwellen his name there, ...
Deus autem, qui habitare fecit nomen suum ibi, ...
- (79) Gen 38.22 EV seiden to me, never there to have
sittun a strumpet.
dixerunt mihi, nunquam sedisse ibi scortum.
(But see §5.1.4)

(d) In WSerE an adverb or adverb phrase may occur between the
verb and its object. The occurrence of such items before (NP TO VP)
is not therefore an argument against RAISING as perhaps it is for PE

(Postal 1974 p 134, Bresnan 1976a). But there may be one in a preceding TO NP subcategorizing the verb. This would essentially be an argument like those of (b). Unfortunately such examples are only known to me from EV (apart from somewhat dubious instances: (9), (80) and i.28.33).

(80) ii.256.10 And þus God hæp neded us: ech man to
supporte his broþer/
(MS punctuation)

(81) Esther 3.4 EV he hadde seid to them, hym to ben
a Jew.
dixerat enim eis se esse Judaeum.
(and cf (79))

(82) 2 Mac 14.31 EV and he comaundide to the prestis
offrynge wont oostis, or sacrifices, the man for
to be taken to hym.
et sacerdotibus solitas hostias offerentibus,
jussit sibi tradi virum.

The fact that (NP TO VP) is distributed as in the examples cited in (a)-(d) implies that nonfinite clauses may occur as connex entities in surface structure. Similarly, the occurrence of an initial oblique pronoun, quite unmotivated by any requirements of the matrix clause (eg as complement to BE) implies that NP is, in this respect, not a member of it: for examples see §2.1.4.1 below. It is, however, unfortunate that evidence of reordering under (c) is so slight, since EV though it is not a gloss, and does not merely reproduce the Vulgate word order, is not good evidence of natural English idiom.

2.1.3.3 Facts indicating that NP behaves as a member of the matrix clause.

There is no evidence of such behaviour from WSerE or WBib that I know ^{if}, apart from the occurrence of PASSIVE, unless reflexivization

indicates matrix clause membership. But elsewhere in ME there are indications of such behaviour.

(a) NOT belonging to the main clause may occur after NP.

Apparent instances of other adverbs have proved illusory; eg the intervening untrewely of the example from the Paston Letters in Visser III.2 §2081 AFFIRM is both interlineated and deleted. It is noticeable that with deep monotransitives such as MAKE such sequences are not found in the corpus, though with ditransitives (eg MOVE) they are not uncommon. But cf (84).

- (83) i.3.34 Þis gospel moveþ men bi witt of a parable
to desire spedely to come to hevene.
- (84) ii.244.30 þer staat shulde þus serve to God, to
defende Cristis lawe and his ordenaunce, and
lat it not perishe for ydilnesse.
- (85) Chaucer,* Cant Tales I.513 So that the wolf ne made
it nat myscarie; ...
- (86) Chaucer, Romaunt of the Rose 5179 Which I have
herd you not repreve, ...
'Which I have not heard you reprove.'
- (87) An Apology for Lollard Doctrines (ed Todd, Camden Soc 1842)
pp 44-45 I denoy me not to have seid þis, ...
Ne I graunt not þat I seyde it, ...
- (88) Matthew (1880) p 440 crist lovyde ful wel his kyn,
as his modir & his cosyns, but he lovyde hem not
to be worldly riche but forto lyve a pore lif, ...

(b) Similarly a pronoun may be reordered to stand before the verb, particularly in verse, as may the pronoun objects of transitive verbs.

- (89) Chaucer, House of Fame 1890 he that me made To
comen hyder, ...
- (90) Cursor Mundi 4667 þe king him did [Trinity MS: made]
a wijf to tak, ...

* All references to Chaucer are to Robinson (1957).

- (91) Pecock, Reule (ed Greet, EETS, OS 171) p 183
 it is not to be holdun þat þis man ... may make
 þee, lord, a dettour ... but if resoun ... shulde
 it juge to mowe be doon; ...
 (Visser III.2 §2079)
 ? NP - TO VP

Presumably we should distinguish here cases where a NP is fronted apparently with some semantic effect as in (92): this kind of fronting is not restricted to members of the matrix clause anyway.

- (92) Chaucer, Cant Tales VII.2628
 this robbour and this homycide,
 That many a man made to wepe and pleyne, ...

Thus the NP of NP TO VP representing one place in deep structure behaves as a member of both matrix and subordinate clauses. The clearest evidence for membership of the matrix clause might be thought to be oblique case marking after a transitive verb and occurrence of the PASSIVE. But it seems rather that there is an oblique case complementizer in WSerE, and PASSIVE need not imply matrix-clause membership. The best evidence is in fact external to WSerE, and consists of the reordering possibilities which affect NP. On the other hand there is quite clear evidence that (NP TO VP) may behave as a connex entity: it may be extraposed, passivized or dislocated, undergo internal reordering and occur in positions where RAISING can hardly be in question. If an analysis with RAISING to object position is adopted for LME more generally, it may be that it should be restricted to occurrence with pronouns, and that it is optional even there. Under such an analysis (NP TO VP) would surface as a connex clause in most positions, but would be split up into disconnex NP and TO VP in certain cases of its occurrence in object position (as also in subject position). Alternatively, under the kind of analysis proposed by Chomsky (1973) the NP is in effect simultaneously a member of both clauses, and open to processes affecting both.

2.1.4 Complementizers in nonfinite clauses.

2.1.4.0 The question of what clause-initial marker appears in nonfinite clauses in WSerE can be approached on two levels. Firstly, we can deal with surface marking, and ask whether the oblique case, or the preposition TO, or nothing at all appears as an initial complementizer. Secondly, we can examine distributional interchanges to see whether we might postulate different or additional complementizers at a deeper level. The first question is dealt with in this section, and the second below in §2.3. The related question of the marking of the infinitive, with (FOR) TO or with ZERO, is reserved for chapter 4.

2.1.4.1 Is the oblique case a complementizer?

In WSerE there are two instances which imply an initial oblique complementizer.

(93) ii.8.34 It is betere to se God clereli, þan us
to blabere here of hid þing.

(94) i.397.20 for we holden a more synne to ete and
drynke wiþ sich men þan us [but MS E: þus]
to do a cursid dede ...
(cf OED Than, conj. l.b.: oblique case cited
only from sixteenth century)

But other instances (as generally in LME) occur in positions where an oblique NP can be attributed to the influence of the main clause: particularly after a transitive verb, or where an alternative analysis into 'affected' NP + infinitive is possible: such instances do not tell us whether any potentially independent clause-marking is involved. We need therefore to look at other ME data to provide a more general

answer to this question, particularly in the light of Zeitlin's (1908) claim that the subject of infinitive clauses which are the subject of neuter and impersonal verbs is itself in the nominative except "in literal translations of Latin texts or, very sporadically, in original documents written under strong Latin influence." (Zeitlin 1908 chapter 4, esp 136-7; quotation p 137); see too the claim made by Visser II §905: "The pronoun is in the subject form" (though he points to an exception). I would like however to suggest that ME may well have had an oblique complementizer until the mid fifteenth century; it seems to me that before c1450 the scanty evidence points as much to an 'accusative and infinitive' as to a 'nominative and infinitive', and that much of what has been cited as earlier evidence for the 'nominative and infinitive' has been misinterpreted. If this is so then the occurrence of an oblique pronoun after a transitive verb need not be taken as evidence that NP is behaving as a member of the matrix clause.

In the first place, Pecock has instances of the 'accusative and infinitive' as complement of BE, after *PAN*, extraposed and in apposition: all instances where the oblique pronoun can hardly be attributed to the effect of position in the matrix clause (for examples see Schmidt 1900 p 108 et seq, Visser II §§905, 911, 912, 921 and Zeitlin 1908 p 133 et seq). Outside Pecock I only know the following two examples; note that neither OED nor MED cites me in exclamatory or absolute constructions in ME, though the context of both would admit such an interpretation.

- (95) 'A Sone! Tak Hede':
 Me, here to leve, & þe, hennys þus go,
 hit is to me gret care & endeles wo.
 (C Brown, Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century, no 128 line 3; cited in Visser II §912. The punctuation here is editorial and there is none in the Worcester Cathedral MS)
- (96) The Wars of Alexander (ed Skeat, EETS, ES 47) 3521
 Bot me to do slike a dede, driȝtin it schilde!
 (Visser II §924)

A further apparent example is cited by Visser II §971:

- (97) Cursor Mundi 14880
 þai had lever se find of hell,
 þan him bituix þam forto duell.

But OED See, v. 10 'to meet with in the course of one's experience; to have personal knowledge of ...' is found with object and infinitive: 10 b ...'To observe, find' from 1390, and this could be a rather earlier example. The existence of other examples is referred to by Zeitlin (1908) p 135, though he only actually gives two rather unconvincing cases. EV, meanwhile, contains (98) beside (99):

- (98) 1 Ezdras 5.8 EV Be it knowen to the king, wee
 to han go to Jude provynce, ...
 Notum sit regi, isse nos ad Judaeam provinciam, ...
- (99) Baruch 6.39 EV Hou therfore is it to be gessid,
 or to be saide, hem for to be goddis, ...
 Quomodo ergo aestimandum est, aut dicendum,
 illos esse deos?
 (same construction at Baruch 6.44, 6.63)

It might seem that the rendering of the ambiguous nominative/accusative nos by wee, but illos by hem rather favours a basic 'nominative and infinitive', as is apparently the view of the editors of MED, hem pron. pl. 4(e) 'translating Latin accusative'. Hollack (1903 p 63) merely remarks after (98) 'der Nominativ wie hier ist nicht häufig' without citing more examples, or telling us what would for him have been an

example. EV certainly has other 'accusatives' which are not readily attributable to the influence of the matrix sentence. If, however, English had had no oblique case clause marking before c1450, it is rather curious that beside examples like (100) we seem to find none with the nominative like (101).

- (100) ii.58.22 'Sire, it is good us to be here.'
Matt 17.4 Domine, bonum est nos hic esse: ...

- (101) Morte d'Arthur (ed Sommer 1889) p 209
That were shame unto the sayd syre launcelot,
thou an armed knyghte to slee a naked man by
treason.
(quoted from Zeitlin 1908 p 122)

There is indeed a 'nominative and infinitive' in Pecock, see (102). It is significant that it is the only instance Schmidt can point to either of a 'nominative and infinitive' or of a nonfinite clause with pronoun subject in subject position.

- (102) Pecock's Repressor p 147 and therfore thilk
proces rather confermeth ymagis to mowe lawfulli
be, than that thei alle to be is unleeful
(quoted from Schmidt 1900 p 113)

Before this date there are, however, only dubious instances of the 'nominative and infinitive' among the examples cited by Visser (II §971 in particular) and by Zeitlin (1908). The example Zeitlin cites from Capgrave (p 124), though possible, is by no means clear in syntax. The only apparently clear instance before the mid fifteenth century is in Usk's Testament of Love (Visser II §§911, 971). Unfortunately this is only known to us from Thynne's edition of 1532, printed by Skeat (1897). Skeat remarked on Thynne's tendency to modernize the spelling (p xviii) and went on, "I believe that this piece is almost unparalleled as regards the shameful corruption of its text." (p xix).

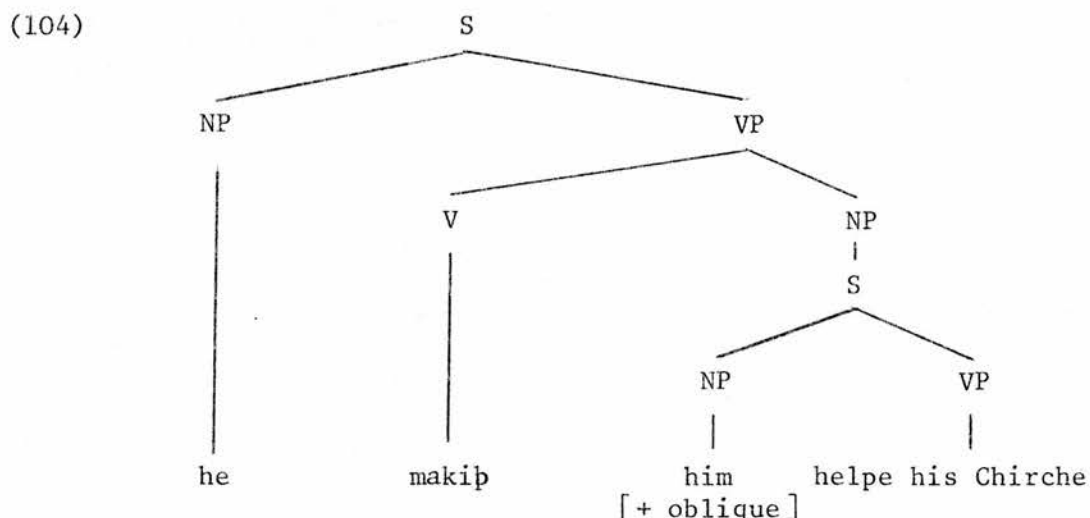
Other examples cited can, I think, all be better interpreted than as nonfinite clauses: thus in Visser II §971 the relevant examples before 1450 consist of two potential finite clauses with subjunctive verb (OE Gospels Mt 19.24, Laȝamon 20741) and one instance of NP and TO VP after \bar{P} AN where they are separate parts of an elliptical structure (C Brown, Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century no 132 line 36); and elsewhere similarly: thus the apparent example at Cursor Mundi (Cotton) 10459 (Visser II §905) is in context rather 'conjunctive-imperative' as is implied by the readings of the other texts. But note the nominative (with understood infinitive) after \bar{P} AN in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women F318/G244 (Visser II §911).

Thus it does not seem that we can confidently assert that the 'nominative and infinitive' was basic before 1450, resulting in a surface 'accusative' where the NP was marked oblique by the matrix clause. Although the evidence is fragmentary, and obliques might be thought to show Latin influence, it does seem that for LME until the mid fifteenth century, it is at least as satisfactory to assume that there was an oblique case marker for at least some nonfinite clauses (if not all), and that variation might perhaps be treated by deletion of the complementizer, just as ME \bar{P} AT or PE FOR may be deleted. The evidence cited above, though thin and dependent on Latin-related texts, is certainly clearer for an oblique complementizer than for a nominative one; and for WSerE such evidence as there is points firmly to the existence of an oblique case complementizer.

2.1.4.2 From what has been said so far in this chapter it is clear that we can suggest that WSerE (NP TO VP) may remain connex at the

surface, and be marked by an oblique case complementizer. Even within the theoretical approach which would demand a rule of RAISING to object for LME to deal with certain examples outside WSerE, the approximate structure of (103) will, at least optionally we may suppose, be (104). More deeply COMP will dominate [+ oblique] .

(103) i.39.33 he makip him helpe his Chirche.



At the moment it is not clear how widely we should suppose that such a structural type occurred, and it may even be that it was of relatively restricted occurrence in ME. But as part of our justification for this analysis we can ask whether it has any historical support, or plausibility, in line with the general approach to ME grammar discussed in §1.7.2.

We cannot claim real support, but the suggestion made here has at least historical plausibility. In the first place, oblique case marking is not simply a function of position in LME: in particular, it can indicate the 'affected' NP of an impersonal verb (some would even say 'the subject' eg Lightfoot 1977). So a clause-type with oblique case marked subject would be well integrated in ME. We may

note too that the course of the fifteenth century sees a steady decline in the incidence of impersonal verbs (cf van der Gaaf 1904, esp p 140), so that these two parallel independent functions of the oblique case would decline together. By the latter half of the fifteenth century the oblique case is indeed very largely determined by surface order, and a special independent function of case marking could not be expected to survive. It is, moreover, also a period which shows increasing loss of the 3e : 3ou distinction (Mustanoja 1960 p 125). In some of its functions as complementizer the oblique case is replaced by FOR by the mid sixteenth century (Visser II §§906, 914, OED For, prep. and conj. 18) and although it may be that there is an adequate explanation for the adoption of FOR in the extending range of nonfinite clauses and their consequent need for differentiation, yet it is tempting to suggest that FOR may also have been more specifically motivated by the loss of the case marking to which it could be considered an analytic successor.

Thus, while we cannot claim support for this account of infinitive clauses from the history of English, it is at least consonant with a historical account which interprets its loss as due to the weakening of the oblique case's independent functions, and associates with it the rise of FOR as a complementizer.

2.1.4.3 Is the preposition TO a complementizer?

This seems an appropriate point to raise the rather less 'basic' question of whether the preposition TO was a complementizer. At this period of English it seems that TO was poised to undergo the development from preposition to complementizer which slightly later

affected FOR. In WSerE the sequence FOR NP TO VP is rather uncommon, and no corpus instances look as if they might contain a potential complementizer (but cf (9) in §2.2.1 below). There are however signs that TO was weakening in function, so that TO NP TO VP seems sometimes not to be distinguished from (NP TO VP). But there is no real evidence that TO NP TO VP was developing a distribution independent of that proper to 'affected' TO NP with infinitive (I exclude from consideration examples best analyzed as sequences of the preposition TO with abstract clausal NP TO VP object, cf §2.2.1 (b)). Thus TO NP TO VP is found with predicates which may take TO NP, and the interpretation of TO NP as 'affected' NP is never inappropriate, though it may seem otiose in context (but for a possible exception see ii.175.34).

In the following cases from WSerE and WBib it seems that no distinction is to be made between (NP TO VP) and TO NP TO VP. However even in (105) TO NP TO VP is not to be treated as a syntactic unit if MS punctuation is any guide.

- (105) i.185.6 And herefore seid Petir, It is good to us
to be here ...
(text is not rubricated, but Matt 17.4 seems to
be followed. MS punctuation is a raised point
after us)
Matt 17.4 Domine, bonum est nos hic esse: ...
- (106) ii.58.21 'But Petir answeringe seide to Jesus,
Sire, it is good us to be here.'
Matt 17.4 (No MS punctuation between Sire and
here).
- (107) Matt 17.4 and Mark 9.4, EV and LV
it is good us (for) to be here; ...
(one LV MS has to us to be in Mark 9.4)

- (108) Luke 9.33 EV it is good to us for to be here, ...
 LV it is good that we be here, ...
 bonum est nos hic esse; ...

On a small survey, MS punctuation distinguishes sharply between TO NP TO VP and NP TO VP in such 'impersonal' constructions. Over half of the instances of TO NP TO VP were punctuated between NP and TO VP (11/21), while only one of NP TO VP was (1/12). There are other instances where TO NP TO VP and NP TO VP may well be equivalent, as in (109)-(112), but I know of none where TO NP TO VP stands where a simple nonfinite clause would have been expected.

- (109) i.200.6 It is leefful us to take þese two, ...
 (110) ii.56.30 'It is Sabot; it is not leveful to þee
 to take away þi bed.'
 John 5.10 non licet tibi tollere grabatum tuum.
 (111) ii.88.9 ... Crist wroot here as myche as was
 nedeful us to cunne, ...
 (112) ii.243.33 Many siche wittis ben not nedeful to
 us for to cunne now.

The adjectival and verbal expressions found here in the corpus, moreover, occur in constructions with TO NP and either NP or PAT S, so that TO NP may clearly be taken as part of the matrix clause when it occurs with TO VP. Thus (113) contains a parallel to (110),

- (113) i.90.6 touchinge of leprouse men was leveful
 to men þat þus wolden helpe hem.
 (114) i.174.17 for it is more hard to fendis to
 pursue þe persone of Crist þan to pursue his
 membris, ...
 (115) i.114.11 þre þingis ben hard to men, ...

and (114) is paralleled by (115). The constructions found with (TO) NP TO VP for all of which appropriate parallels of this type are readily available, generally in WSerE but sometimes from other sources, are:

FALLE, PERTEYNE, PROFITE, SUFFISE.

BE GOOD (BETERE), BE HARD, BE LI3T, BE LEVEFUL, BE NEDEFUL,
BE PERTINENT, BE PROPRE, BE YNOW3.

There are also instances with NP predicates: BE NEDE is readily paralleled, and the other two seem likely to have parallels though none have been found: BE SYNNE (i.189.3 two examples), BE A MEDEFUL PING (i.24.12).

We may conclude then that the sequence TO NP TO VP contains the preposition TO governing an affected NP which belongs syntactically to the main clause (or perhaps in some instances governing the whole nonfinite clause, see §2.2.1). It is not a complementizer introducing a type of nonfinite clause, though it seems to be capable of occurring when the semantic distinction between (NP TO VP) and TO NP - TO VP is effectively neutralized.

2.1.5 Conclusion.

The evidence of parallel distribution implies that the sequence NP TO VP may represent both one and two place deep structures, and there are various grounds for supposing that deep one place (NP TO VP) may remain connex in surface structure in WSerE. Elsewhere in LME, however, NP behaves in some respects as a member of the matrix clause, and it is perhaps optionally accessible to matrix clause processes. The oblique case of a pronoun NP in (NP TO VP) must at least sometimes represent an oblique case complementizer in WSerE. More general evidence for potentially independently motivated pronominal case in (NP TO VP) is scanty before cl450 but points rather to the use of the oblique case than the nominative, though admittedly the evidence

is largely from Latin-related texts. Moreover the interpretation of the oblique case as a complementizer is consistent with a reasonable account of the history of nonfinite clauses. Finally, although the preposition TO may occur in structures where the distinction TO NP - TO VP : (NP TO VP) is effectively neutralized, it is not a complementizer.

2.2 The Categories Dominating Complement Clauses

2.2.0 Now that some of the problems concerning the sequence NP TO VP have been sorted out we can turn to the perhaps more basic question of which categories dominate complement clauses. I will first consider whether complement clauses are NPs or not, and then discuss whether they are also dominated by S.

2.2.1 Are complement clauses noun phrases?

In this section I will discuss some salient facts of distributional parallelism between PAT-clauses, WH-clauses, and infinitives with and without subject, and will conclude that in the first instance they are all to be treated as NP or PP at a more abstract level. The important questions are whether WSerE has one basic type of complement clause categorization, or more; and what the relevant category (or categories) may be.

Rosenbaum (1967a) assumed that PE THAT-clauses and infinitives should sometimes be regarded as NP because they behaved like other NPs in that they could occur as the subject of passives, and after BE in pseudo-cleft sentences (which he took to indicate NP constituency), as in these examples:

To drink beer is preferred by nine out of ten people.

What nine out of ten people prefer is to drink beer.

Rosenbaum claimed that this is not the case for verbs such as ATTEMPT, CONDESCEND, ENDEAVOUR, TEND, TRY as shown by the ungrammaticality of such instances as these:

*To drink beer was condescended by Mary.

*What Mary condescended was to drink beer.

Consequently he introduced a category of VP-complementation in which S is directly dominated by VP. Subsequently it has been pointed out that pseudo-cleft sentences are not a good test of NP constituency (eg Emonds 1972 p 54), and that not only are all supposed instances of VP-complementation in complementary distribution with PP within the grammar as a whole, but there are alternative versions of many sentences with VP-complement verbs which (while only semi-grammatical) could be taken to justify derivation from deep PP structures (Wagner 1968):

?To drink beer was condescended to by Mary.

?What Mary condescended to was to drink beer.

Consequently it has often been supposed that the grammar of PE has only NP-complementation.

But there have been other arguments for VP-complementation or against NP constituency. Kajita (1968) argued that for verbs and adjectives such as APPEAR, BE ABOUT, BE APT, BE BOUND, HAVE, PROVE, SEEM, TEND a following infinitive represents VP-complementation since (he claimed) no lexical NP of parallel sense may be substituted (as it may, eg, with BE LIKELY or WANT).

It is likely that John will be dismissed.
John's dismissal is likely.

It seems that John will be dismissed.
*John's dismissal seems.
*It seems John's dismissal.

John wants to be dismissed.
John wants his dismissal.

John is about to be dismissed.
*John is about his dismissal. (not equivalent)

A further series of claims was made by Emonds (1972) who argued that there was no such thing as NP-complementation since complement clauses did not behave like other NPs in crucial respects: they did not occur after prepositions (p 31), in conjunction with NP (p 41), in typical direct object position, preceding other elements subcategorized by the verb (p 30), or in cleft sentences, which do provide a reliable NP test (p 42). Thus, to illustrate the last three points with Emonds' examples:

Outdoor bathrooms and pitching a tent every day would bother me.
*To pitch a tent every day and outdoor bathrooms would bother me.

He proposed a 20% reduction for the elderly and discontinuing the translation service.
*He proposed a 20% reduction for the elderly and that the office be moved to the suburbs.

They told a fairy-tale to the children.
*They told how to build a kite to the children.

You promised a new hat to Mary.
*You promised to be quiet to Mary.

I take this responsibility upon myself.
*I take to fix the lamp upon myself.

*It was to buy a new hat that I wanted.
*It is to always be on time that you should decide.
*It's that John has come too late that Bill realizes.
*It was that you explain your motives that was important.

The clarity of the data underlying these tests, and the systematic importance of the resulting generalizations for PE has not been fully demonstrated. However, in the light of differences between PE and WSerE we can fairly argue that the status of complement clauses in WSerE is typically that of NP. The relevant distributional facts for PAT-clauses, WH-clauses and nonfinite clauses are as follows:

(a) PAT-clauses, WH-clauses and infinitives occur as nonextra-posed sentential subjects in WSerE: see §5.2. Nonfinite clauses with subject are not found as sentential subjects in subject position in WSerE, but there are examples elsewhere in LME, see §2.1.3.2 (b). Similar examples with complement clauses after the copula can be found for PAT-clause and infinitive in WSerE, and elsewhere in LME for a nonfinite clause with subject (Visser I §290 cites an example from Chaucer; and see II §921).

- (1) ii.256.8 Þe fifþe vertue of þis mercy is 'þat men
supporte togidere; ...'
- (2) ii.232.3 Þe first maner þat God biddiþ is to be
joyful and glade, ...
- (3) Pecoek, Repressor 414 Forwhi a man forto take such a
mark or evidence were him forto iuge of thingis
pureli and uttirli to come, and so forto take upon
him the iugement which oonli longith to God.
(quoted from Schmidt 1900 p 114)

(b) All clause types are found in ME after a preposition (as well as in positions typically occupied by PP, as we shall see below). The only postverbal corpus examples here are ÞENKE (UP)ON/OVER 'think about, consider', and are clearly motivated by the need to preserve the opposition with ÞENKE ÞAT S, ÞENKE TO VP 'think that ..., intend to ...' (for other ME examples: Mustanoja 1960 p 540, Visser II §976).*

* There are also examples conjoined to PP, eg (15), (16), i.133.2.

- (4) i.129.1 'Sire, we þenken on þat þis gilour saide
 whan he was on lyve, þat he shulde ryse after
 þre daies; ...
 Matt 27.63 Domine, recordati sumus, quia seductor
 ille dixit adhuc vivens: Post tres dies resurgam.
 (The Vulgate shows þat is not 'what'; another
 instance in ii.90.15, also translating recordari.)
- (5) ii.89.35 'And disciplis of Crist þouȝten over how
 it was writtun,' in þe Salme, 'þe zele' of ipocritis
 'in Goddis hous haþ eten Crist' in þeir lyvyng.
 John 2.17 Recordati sunt vero discipuli ejus
 quia scriptum est: Zelus domus tue comedit me.
- (6) ii.216.21 And here men shulden þenken upon to do
 worship to þe gospel, for it is Goddis owne word, ...

Examples of an infinitive clause with subject where the whole clause
 (NP TO VP) is governed by a preposition are infrequent, and may be
 thought more or less dubious because alternative analyses are normally
 possible if perhaps less plausible. However, there are examples in
 Pecock (Schmidt 1900 p 121-2) one of which is cited below as (54),
 and further examples appear in Visser (III.2 §2082) and possibly after
 WITHOUT in II §976. The best examples I have found in WSerE are:

- (7) i.161.18 /and God bade him take an addre of bras:
 and hong hym hye on a tree• to þe puple to loke
 on/
 (MS punctuation)
- (8) ii.3.2 /And þus þese newe religiouse• biside Cristis
 lawe• ben bi papis/ but to crokid and to foule:
 to ony man to go to hevene/ for hem wantiþ riȝtnesse
 þat þei feynen in þer signes•
 (MS punctuation)
 'and thus these new religious (sects), separate
 from Christ's law, are byways, but they are too
 crooked and too muddy for any man to get to heaven
 by them ...'

and note the possibility that an example like (9) might be taken this
 way.

- (9) ii.28.1 /And for þis parable is ful good• for many
 men to knowe:
 (MS punctuation)

(c) $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses, indirect questions and infinitives all occur in conjunction with NP in WSerE, including instances where such conjoining is not permitted today. But it seems that LME may have had greater freedom to conjoin than PE, so that we cannot necessarily argue for the categorial identity of conjoined constituents (cf the refs of §2.1.3.1).

- (10) i.174.26 For if þei knewe wel Cristis Fadir,
þanne after þei shulden knowe his Sone, and
þat þese two ben o God; ...
- (11) i.355.18 and þus rengnyng wiþouten eende in
þe hous of Jacob, and þat of his rewme shal be
noon eende, tellen how Crist rengneþ spirituali, ...
- (12) ii.235.19 noþing mai befalle ligter, þan þat ech
seint in hevene may be deed and dampned in helle, ...

also i.169.29, ii.39.3.

- (13) i.197.9 Sop it is þat God knowiþ alle þe partis
of a man, and how many þes partis ben, for þei
ben fewe to Goddis witt; ...
- (14) i.236.2 God wole þat tyme of deþ be comunli
unknowun to men, and whanne þe daie of dome shal
be.

indirect question: also i.133.2, ii.63.13.

- (15) i.170.12 Sum men be oonli servauntis of greet
service outward, and sum ben servauntis of þes
two, boþe of privy counceilis, and to do siche
service.
- (16) ii.11.31 And þis word shulde move men to mekenesse
and to leve pride, ...

infinitive: also i.393.3, ii.11.24, ii.62.14, ii.233.9, ii.246.17.

Finite clauses and infinitives occur in loose apposition to NP (for the claim that this is not generally true for infinitives in PE see Emonds 1970 p 78).

(d) We regularly find \dot{P} AT-clause, WH-clause and infinitive after other elements which subcategorize the verb. But there are two cases where the infinitive precedes such elements: however the first may be a reordering because of length and emphasis of a type found also in PE, and the sense of the second is not fully certain.

- (17) ii.83.29 'How þou, siþ þou art a Jew, axist to
drynke of me þat am a womman of Samarie?'
John 4.9 Quomodo tu Judaeus cum sis, bibere
a me poscis, ...

less certain i.211.35.

(e) There is some evidence for \dot{P} AT-clauses and infinitives that they may occur in structures which are probably best treated as created by transformations which elsewhere affect only NP. Hence there is an argument, parallel to Rosenbaum's for PE, that the complement clause should be treated as NP.

Examples of \dot{P} AT-clause and infinitive as extraposed subject of a passive occur, but these are not necessarily good evidence: we require cases where movement of clause or infinitive itself is shown, like (18),

- (18) i.59.26 It is seid bifore how þis firste bodi
þat Crist reiseid from deþ to life bitokeneþ
siche men þat ben goostly deed, for ful concense
to synne; but þei do not þe dede wiþout; and þat
is bitokned þat þe wenche was in þe hous 3it.
'It has been told earlier how this first body
that Christ raised from death to life signifies
men who are spiritually dead on account of their
full accord with sin; but they do not perform
the external act, and that is signified by the
fact that the girl was still in the house.

if it is indeed to be taken as a passive with preposition deletion,
as is most straightforward.* (18) is the only example like this that

* For BITOKENE with \dot{P} AT-clause subject cf i.53.9, i.341.28.
MED bitōknen v. has passive examples (including one with purh þet S)
under 1 and 4, but no indication of a construction BITOKENE NP \dot{P} AT NP
(as with UNDIRSTONDE) which would imply no movement of the \dot{P} AT-clause.
But Latin SIGNIFICARE, which BITOKENE may render, seems to have had
such a construction.

I know of in WSerE. For the infinitive as a subject of a passive in subject position cf (19), and for nonfinite clause with subject as passive subject in subject position see the examples from Pecock's Repressor cited under (68) in §2.1.3.2 (a).

- (19) Chaucer De Cons Phil 4 Prose 2.247 But for to
mowen don yvel and felonye ne may nat ben
referrid to good.
(quoted from Visser II §904; OED Refer, v. 3
'To assign to a thing, or class of things,
as being properly included or comprehended ...')

Apart from the passive there is also in (20) an example in an OBJECT RAISING structure which may show movement (cf §5.1.3.2), and similarly a TOPICALIZED ¹PAT-clause in i.309.4, and a possible TOPICALIZED infinitive in ii.63.32.

- (20) i.309.1 ¹Pat þei ben more holden bi þis
dowyng is liȝt to prove bi mannīs lawe; ...

(f) The most impressive reason for treating WSerE complement clauses as NP is their close distributional equivalence with NP. With nearly all verbs and adjectives that take a complement clause there exists a construction which contains an abstract NP or PP and which is parallel in sense, or so close that the difference may be attributed to the distinction between clause and NP/PP. The exceptions to this generalization are the 'premodals' (the group of verbs which contains some of the ancestors of our PE modals, discussed in §4.2.2) and one or two rather more dubious instances noted below. This parallelism is not a 'delicate' test, and really only shows the initial plausibility of taking NP complementation to be the general WSerE clause complementation. In this connection note in particular the strictures of Bresnan (1972) who would restrict this type of argument to such 'sentential' NPs as gerunds. In PE it would lead us to assign

NP complements to ATTEMPT, BE BOUND, ENDEAVOUR, FAIL, TEND, TRY, but not BE ABOUT, BE APT, PROVE, SEEM or perhaps APPEAR, CONDESCEND.

This parallelism is best shown by example. It was necessary here to supplement my (admittedly incomplete) collections of constructions with complement verbs in the sermons with information from OED and MED.

LETTE 'prevent'

- (21) i.174.23 dispeire of sich an ende wolde lette
a man for to worche.
- (22) i.409.20 And as þe nexte, mornyng, lettīp sloupe
in Goddis service, so þis fourþe, hungriḡ,
lettīp men fro coveitise.
- (23) i.177.21 'Nyle 3e' ... do þing þat shulde lette
þis work.

MOVE 'prompt, impell'

- (24) ii.240.35 And þis moveþ many men to speke
aȝen foure newe sectis.
- (25) i.263.31 And þus all þes þree wittis ... moven man
unevenli to glotonye and lecherie; ...
- (26) i.402.5 And among evidence þat shulde meeve men
to mekenes, bileve of þis gospel shulde meeve
men to flee dispite.

BIDDE 'order, press'

- (27) ii.225.13 siþ Crist biddiþ men of his suyt
þat þei shulden not have two cootis.
- (28) i.169.34 '3e ben' þanne, seiþ Crist, 'frendis of
me' þat han þis love, 'if- 3e done' sadli 'þe
þingis þat I bidde ȝou.'
- (29) i.330.14 þanne þei loveden betere Crist, and
diden betere service þat he bad hem; ...
- (30) i.204.34 And Crist biddiþ his servantis 'to joie
þat dai in her herte, ...'
- (31) i.108.18 but Jesus biddiþ siche blynde men to
be brouȝt to him in þer bileve; ...

BE BISIE 'be busy, anxious'

- (32) i.36.17 þei shulden be bisye for blisse ...
- (33) i.38.1 'And of cloþis what ben 3e bisye?'
Matt 6.28 Et de vestimento quid solliciti estis?
- (34) i.38.10 'Be we not bisye what we shal ete or
drynke or wiþ what þingis oure bodi shal be
atired, ...'
Matt 6.31 Nolite ergo solliciti esse, dicentes:
Quid manducabimus, aut quid bibemus, ...
- (35) ii.57.8 men shulden on holy daye be bisye to
make good preieris, ...

BE ABLE 'be suitable, capable'

- (36) i.195.5 for þei ben not able to serve þus.
- (37) ii.25.30 'No man þat puttþ his hond to þe plou3,
and lokynge agen, is able to þe kyngdom of God.'
Luke 9.62 Nemo ... aptus est regno Dei.
- (38) ii.258.27 And so God of blis hap ordeyned, ...
how men shulden have sacramentis to make hem
able for þis traveile.

MUSE 'wonder, ponder'

- (39) ii.88.5 Muse we not what Crist wroot here, ...
- (40) i.97.21 Many men musen of undirstondinge of þis
gospel, ...
- (41) i.357.26 And men shulden not muse on þis, þat
ne þer ben diverse meritis.
'Men should not think about this: that there
are not diverse merits.'

BITOKENE 'signify'

- (42) i.34.18 To þe witt of allegoric, bitokeneþ þis
dede of Crist how he was wendinge to hevene, ...
- (43) i.39.16 And þis bitokeneþ þree synnes þat God
forgeveþ in þis worlde. Þe firste bitokeneþ
ful consense for to do agens God, ...
- (44) i.5.13 Þes fyve yockis bitokenen plente of
worldely goodis; ...

MENE 'mean'

- (45) i.29.8 And þus menep þe gospel þat þe þridde
servaunt of God shal constreyne men to entre
and soupe wip him in hevene, ...
- (46) ii.222.5 And Poul menep bi þis sleep synne
þat foolis lyven ynne.
- (47) ii.44.7 ... Crist mente swerd of þe Holi Goost.

SEIE 'say, tell'

- (48) ii.74.21 'Sopli Y seie to 3ou, þat no man prophete
is accepted in his contre.'
Luke 4.24 Amen dico vobis, quia nemo propheta
acceptus est in patria sua.
- (49) i.144.29 but 'Y seie 3ou treuþe, it spedip to
3ou þat I go, ...'
John 16.7 Sed ego veritatem dico vobis: ...

and SEIE occurs with such direct objects as word, lawe, proverbe
elsewhere. See OED Say, v.¹ B.7. '... to relate (a story), ...
to tell, speak (truth, lies) ...'. This group of direct object
senses is close enough to 'to declare or state in words'
(OED B.2).

USE 'be accustomed'

- (50) ii.224.15 And herfore many men usen wel to come not
in bedde wip sheetis, but be hilid above þe bedde,
and rise anoon whan þei ben temptid; ...
- (51) ii.22.6 spiritual werkes, ... shulden be don algatis
in Sabot, as preiyng and service in þe Temple, wip
oþer werkes þat preestis usen; ...

and there seems to be a close enough (though not perfect) paral-
lel between the sense of OED Use, v. 20 'To be accustomed or wont
to do something', and 1 ... 'to pursue or follow as a custom or
usage' and 4 'To ply or carry on (an occupation, or profession
etc)', both with NP objects.

KNITTE 'add'

- (52) ii.256.32 Þerfore Poul knittip after, 'þat Cristis
word dwelle in us in al maner of wisdom,' ...
Coloss 3.16 Verbum Christi habitat in vobis
abundanter, ...

cf MED knitten v.3(c) 'to add (one thing to another)' with
various abstract objects (eg miracle, synne) in LME.

There are however a few cases in which evidence of an appropriate parallel NP is not so clear: GRUTCHE 'grumble' (cf MED grucchen v.1.), HASTE 'hasten', PROCURE 'persuade' (if ditransitive with NP TO VP), BE BLYNDE 'be prevented by blindness', and perhaps one or two others. But the impressive distributional regularity nonetheless is between NP/PP and complement clause.

This regularity does not however extend to the 'premodals': the group of verbs which contains some of the ancestors of our PE modals, in particular SHAL, MOT and DAR in WSerE. These verbs are only very restrictedly found with a following NP, if at all; and they are moreover distinguished by their failure to occur in contact with an infinitive introduced by (FOR) TO. In §4.2.2 I discuss the probable link between infinitive marking and the lack of contrast with NP and come to the tentative conclusion that they may show verb phrase complementation which is signalled by the regular lack of (FOR) TO with the infinitive. But these may well be the only instances of verb phrase complementation in WSerE.

From this discussion we can see that the following gross distributional parallel holds, except that instances of (NP TO VP) in positions where it commutes with PP have yet to be cited:

NP : ÞAT S : WH S : TO VP : (NP TO VP)
PP : ÞAT S : WH S : TO VP : (NP TO VP)

Of this last commutation I know no clear examples in postverbal or postadjectival position.* But adverbial PP and (NP TO VP) seem to be equivalent in the single adequate example given in Visser II §951 (Morte Arthure), where the appropriate preposition would be TO or FOR, in (53), a parallel instance from Pecock; and perhaps in i.202.29.

- (53) Pecock, Repressor 300 he was the redier and the
abler forto waite into al her good and profit,
(forto be seen of hem alle, and forto be herd
of hem alle, and alle hem forto receyve mete of
him the bettir)
(quoted from Schmidt 1900 §128)

It may however be that (NP TO VP) is not quite like NP in distribution in that it is restricted in occurrence as object after another object NP: see §2.1.3.2 (d).

On the basis of the different tests of NP-constituency proposed in this section (ie occurrence as subject in subject position, after a preposition, in conjunction with NP, in positions perhaps created by transformations which affect NP, as well as in commutation with PP), we can conclude that all complement types are typically dominated by NP. The only established exception to this is the unintroduced infinitive after 'premodals' which may well show VP-complementation. There may however be other unrecognized instances of VP-complementation which the unsophisticated nature of this testing has not revealed.

2.2.2 Are complement clauses dominated by the node S?

This second question about the category status of complement clauses, which is in fact largely one about distributional parallels between complement clauses and main sentences, will be dealt with much more briefly than the last. Finite complement clauses are clearly to

* Unclear: ii.256.10.

be analyzed as dominated by the node S, but the question is less satisfactorily answerable for nonfinite clauses. Finite clauses not only parallel main clauses in respect of what they contain, they also permit the transformations of TOPICALIZATION (in *PAT*-clauses) and SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION (in both *PAT*- and 'indirect speech' WH-clauses) and these seem to be 'root transformations' in Emonds' (1976) sense, and are apparently restricted to the domain S (see §5.1.4 for discussion). Thus finite clauses are dominated by S.

Similar evidence for nonfinite clauses, however, is not so easily found. In §2.1.3.2 (c) above some examples of reordering within nonfinite clauses with subject are cited, and (75) apparently shows SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION, which presumably indicates domination by S. It may also prove to be the case that the reordering shown in the first clause in (75), as perhaps also the adverb position in (54) from Pecock, show that the node S is involved.

- (54) Pecock, *Repressor* p 151 for more clereli this
 same answe to be undirstonde it is to wite ...
 (cited from Schmidt 1900 p 121)

To this scanty evidence we may add that the transformation of EXTRAPOSITION (with the associated insertion of IT) applies to nonfinite clauses with subject (for examples see §2.1.3.2 (a)) and that this will be most simply and generally formulated to refer to S. Thus there is a little evidence that nonfinite clauses with subjects should be regarded as dominated by S. With subjectless infinitives, however, the evidence is very poor. EXTRAPOSITION occurs from subject position, and, though restrictedly, from object position (cf Visser I §§506, 515, 521-6). The occurrence of passive infinitives however may indicate domination by S, as may the occurrence of certain fronted elements.

Thus PP which belong to TO VP may occur before it (see §5.1.4). More significantly, there is one example where the object NP has probably been TOPICALIZED and therefore shows domination by S. It is contrastive in context, and the corpus does not elsewhere show object position before the infinitive:

- (55) i.172.10 And we shulden ... be bisie ... to do
good to ech man, sum to make betere and sum
to make lesse yvel; ...

But at best this only serves to show that certain infinitives are S dominated. However, I shall assume in what follows that all infinitives are dominated by S, despite inadequate evidence, in accordance with the traditional transformational framework outlined in §1.8. Since sentences typically have subjects, and TO VP does not, it is worth pointing out that the identity of the subject of a complement infinitive is apparently recoverable from the structure in which it appears under quite definite conditions of 'control' (discussed in §5.1.3.3). In this respect infinitives differ from the verbal substantive in -ING which is a straightforward noun phrase, and which apparently lacks such 'control'. This is consistent with the view that infinitives are dominated by S, and are generated with a deep structure subject which may only be removed under conditions of recoverability, whereas the verbal substantive in -ING is not. (See §8.3.2. Schachter 1976 makes a different suggestion, but note that for his purposes WSerE would not provide a better argument for nonsentential infinitives than PE does.)

We can conclude that there are a few instances in which nonfinite clauses seem to show features typical of finite clauses and main

sentences. It is difficult to isolate essentially sentential processes except for the 'root transformations' which one would only expect to find in nonfinite clauses quite exceptionally if they are indeed restricted to subordinate clauses that are used to assert (see §5.1.4). But here and in the occurrence of EXTRAPOSITION there is some evidence that nonfinite clauses with subject are dominated by S, and there is some similar though yet more scanty evidence for TO VP, which is perhaps supported by the existence of conditions which control the recoverability of its subject.

2.3 On the Opposition PAT-clause : Nonfinite Clause

2.3.0 There is one further basic question to be asked here, which is in part a development of the discussion of nonfinite clause complementizers of §2.1.4, and it concerns the syntactic relationship between PAT-clauses and nonfinite clauses. There is a basic semantic distinction between these two clause types (roughly propositional representation versus name of event or action) which is discussed in §5.3, and which is frequently neutralized. Here I would like to ask whether there is any syntactic justification for a more complex system than one which simply contains the opposition finite clause : nonfinite clause (disregarding WH-clauses for the moment), say a system in which an interrelation between PAT-clause and TO VP was given special status, or in which different nonfinite complementizers were distinguished. The conclusion will be that there is no adequate justification for such covert distinctions, but that the possibility of a special relationship of some kind between PAT-clause and TO VP would bear further investigation.

2.3.1 I wish first, briefly, to reject the existence of a general systematic relationship between sentences of these two types:

- (1) i.196.11 And certis a man confessiþ not Crist,
þat he is boþe God and man, ...
- (2) i.196.21 And þanne Crist wole confesse þis man
to be trewe in Goddis cause, ...

This possibility was in effect briefly referred to in §2.1.2, and the caveat issued there about the necessary lack of sophistication of this analysis is relevant. However, granted the caveat, while it is possible that the existence of the type (1) encouraged the development of the type (2), the distribution of these two types is so different from one another that any synchronic relationship, unless rather idiosyncratically with a few lexical items, is out of the question. For a full description of the type of (2), see §5.1.6.

2.3.2

2.3.2.0 Now to the more serious question of a possible syntactic relationship between *þAT*-clauses and nonfinite clauses, such as is suggested for PE by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) among others. A brief discussion of the system outlined for (part of) PE by Bresnan (1972) will help to clarify the issues. Bresnan's system derives infinitives as the reflex of subordinate clauses both introduced by the complementizer FOR, and without an introducing complementizer. This opposition characterizes differences between verbs of the class of WANT and BELIEVE. WANT occurs with FOR which can be deleted only after the rule of PASSIVE; however there is a constraint, the 'Fixed Subject Constraint' (pp 95 et seq, 305 et seq) which forbids the movement of

NP across an adjacent complementizer. BELIEVE is, on the other hand, subcategorized for plain S, without complementizer. Thus the NP following WANT may not be moved with the freedom of the NP following BELIEVE, and we get the following set of contrasts:

Verbs like WANT (DESIRE, LIKE, HATE, LOVE, PREFER, WISH):

- (a) Occur with FOR NP TO VP, eg in pseudoclefts:

What I really want is for you to kiss me.

- (b) May not occur with 'second passives' because of the 'Fixed Subject Constraint':

*Paul was wanted to go.

- (c) Occur with the rule of EQUI, which only operates across FOR:

We want to go.

- (d) Are questionable with a reflexive infinitive subject:

?We want (for) ourselves to go.

On the other hand verbs like BELIEVE (ASSUME, CONSIDER, DENY, PERCEIVE, SUPPOSE, UNDERSTAND):

- (a) May not occur with FOR NP TO VP:

*What I believe is for John to have left yesterday.

- (b) May occur with 'second passives', because there is no FOR to block PASSIVE:*

John is believed to have left yesterday.

- (c) May not occur with EQUI, since no deep FOR is present:

*John believes to go.

- (d) May occur with a reflexive subject of the infinitive:

John believes himself to be a figure of statuesque proportions.

* The term 'second passive' is from Lees (1960a) and refers to sentences like the example, where the subject of a nonfinite clause is passivized.

There are difficulties here with verbs like ORDER (Bresnan subcategorized them with FOR), and see the reformulation of the 'Fixed Subject Constraint' as the 'Complementizer Constraint on Variables' in Bresnan (1977 p 173). However despite problems with this analysis of PE, we may clearly ask two kinds of question of our ME data in order to ascertain whether a more complex analysis is necessary: firstly, what kind of relationship holds between finite and nonfinite clauses, and secondly, what movement freedoms are to be associated with different types of subordinate clause?

2.3.2.1 Interrelations between finite and nonfinite clauses.

With certain verbs it is not easy, or possible to discern a contrast of meaning between a \bar{P} AT-clause of appropriate tense, and (NP) TO VP: eg after WILLE 'wish', BIHETE 'promise', or after certain verbs of thinking and knowing, eg (3).

- (3) i.197.36 for Crist went to þese places, where
 he wiste to do good ...
 '... where he felt confident, knew that he would
 do good.'
 OED Wit, v.¹ B.6. 'with to and inf.: To be certain
 or confident, feel sure, expect confidently.'

Moreover with WILLE and some other verbs we find only \bar{P} AT S or TO VP and not NP TO VP which might argue a special interrelationship with EQUI affecting \bar{P} AT-clauses (for WILLE's rejection of NP TO VP cf chapter 6).

There are other aspects of the distribution of \bar{P} AT S which make it appear suppletive to (NP) TO VP, apart from the possible restriction on (NP TO VP) after a verbal object, and the tendency for a conjoined clause to be introduced by \bar{P} AT eg (4) and i.404.18. (Visser III.2

§2061. His reverse examples seem rather to belong to §2060, but cf p 2334 Say c1425 Chauliac for a possible example).

- (4) ii.54.34 ... God wolde, and þe holi Trinite also,
slee Crist, and þat Crist were deed.

Firstly, some verbs which regularly occur with TO VP are sometimes found instead with ¹PAT S in contexts of double negation (including virtual negation) as in (5) and (6).

- (5) Lydgate: Troy Book (ed Bergen, EETS, ES 97) 1.3040
[She] bad hym wisly þat he nat ne faille ...
þe scripture þat he rede, ...

- (6) Lydgate: Troy Book 2.1036 þe werkeman hap nat failed
It to parfome by crafty excellence.

My evidence here is not very good: apparent corpus examples of ¹PAT S in such circumstances (with EXCUSE, LETTE 'prevent', SUFFRE) only occur with verbs that appear elsewhere in WSerE or in ME with ¹PAT S in the appropriate sense. But the implication of MED entries for FAILE, FOR-3ETE, LETTE, LEVE is that ¹PAT S, in the appropriate sense, is restricted to contexts of double negation (MED failen v. 2,7; foryeten v. 1.(c)(d); letten v. 11.(a); lēven v.(1)1.). Since MED does not set out to give syntactic information at all systematically, this apparent suppletion may turn out not to be more generally true. There is however no counter-evidence with CEESE, FORSAKE, SPARE in WSerE or dictionaries.

In the second case there is not quite the same limitation on our knowledge of possibilities of occurrence, because there is the evidence of LV's rejection of EV's versions to consider. This gives us evidence of a partly suppletive relationship between (IT) ... ¹PAT S and NP ... TO VP in cases like (7)-(10) with SEIE, some verbs of thinking and knowing, and one or two other verbs.

- (7) i.200.20 And it is comunli seid þat wolves be
beestis of raveyne, ...
- (8) i.179/180 A man is seid to love his lyf, þat
loveþ it more þan oþer þing; ...
- (9) i.133.1 men may ... trete what mater þat þei
wenen shulde profite to þe puple; ...
- (10) i.116.2 But what man wolde by skile be þus chastisid
of his broþer, for manniss obedience þat he doutip
to be a fend?

Here if the subject of the subordinate clause is passivized, the clause is nonfinite, but if it is moved by any other process, either a finite or a nonfinite clause results. There are moreover restrictions on the occurrence of connex (NP TO VP) after these verbs: few of them accept it, and some do not seem to develop it until quite considerably later (BILEVE, DOUTE, HOPE, TECHE). Thus the interrelationship between \bar{P} AT S and (NP) ... TO VP is quite striking.

2.3.2.2 Movement from finite and nonfinite clauses.

Different possibilities of movement from complement clauses after different verbs might also support the notion of covert distinctions within a more complex system of complementizers. But it does not seem that there is any distinction here between clause constructions with different verbs. The general situation in WSerE is described in §5.1.3.5. It seems that movement from (or deletion in) nonsubject positions of nonquestion finite and nonfinite clauses of every type is equally appropriate. When we turn to the movement or deletion of subjects, it is not clear whether Bresnan's 'Fixed Subject Constraint' applies or not: it is supposedly universal in languages which lack free subject pronoun deletion, but the implications of this for ME are not clear (Perlmutter 1971 chapter 4, and see especially n 7).

I know two instances of WITE þAT VP where the subordinate subject has been removed, (11) and (12); for another with WILLE see EV 4 Kings 20.10.

- (11) i.166.36 for þese þat God woot þat shal be
saved, ...

- (12) ii.76.15 Ech man þat þou woost þat synnep, ...

In the corpus WITE does not appear with a nonabstract object, but elsewhere in ME there are instances where it takes a human object (eg in WBib) and it is interesting that the only two apparent cases of subject deletion after þAT to turn up are potential relative clauses in another type of ME. Conceivably then WSerE did indeed generally disallow movement or deletion of a subject NP next to þAT. But there is no mapping from verbs which may delete þAT to those which occur with (NP) ... TO VP to further support the idea of their interrelationship. Nor is there any apparent difference in the occurrence of NP ... TO VP sequences with verbs of different classes, as in PE, though we may note that MAKE which is frequent with NP TO VP and the passive NP ... PRED in the corpus does not turn up there in the second passive. Such sequences with verbs of saying, knowing and thinking are amply illustrated from WSerE in chapter 6. Here are some supplementary examples from elsewhere in ME.

- (13) An Apology for Lollard Doctrines (ed Todd, Camden
Soc 1842) p 26 And bi lawis of þe kirk men are
þus cursid, and bidun to be holdun cursid, ...
- (14) WBib, LV 2 Mac 6.21 that he were feyned to have
etun ...
ut simularetur manducasse, ...
- (15) Higd.(2) 1.169 Atlas ... was feynede to berre hevyn.
(MED feinen v. 7(c).)

- (16) Chaucer, Cant Tales X.279 Thanne was his visage,
that oghte be desired to be seyn of al mankynde,
... , vileynsly bispet.
- (17) Genesis and Exodus 4109
God hem andswarede 'iosue
Ic wile ben loder-man after ðe'
(quoted from Zeitlin 1908 p 62)
- (18) Gower, Confessio Amantis 8.717, (ed Macaulay EETS, ES
81, 82) The king was sone set and served,
And he, which hath his pris deserved
After the kinges oghne word,
Was mad beginne a Middel bord,
That bothe king and queene him sihe.
(Visser III.2 §2139)
- (19) Chauliac's Grande Chirurgie 35a/a pay be sayne to
have a fleumatik mater
(quoted from Visser III.2 §2137)
- (20) WBib, LV 1 Cor 12.22 tho that ben seyn to be the
lowere membris of the bodi, ...
quae videntur membra corporis infirmiora esse, ...
- (21) The Lanterne of Liȝt (ed Swinburn, EETS, OS 151) 5.23
þe feiþ of trewe bilevars: schulde be hopid to be
brouȝt in/ ... bi speche & doctrine of God/
(Visser III.2 §2184)

2.3.3 Conclusion.

The best evidence here of interchange between finite and non-finite clauses is that with verbs of saying, thinking and knowing. In chapter 6 it is interpreted as possibly manifesting a (residual) semantic opposition, rather than as a purely syntactic interchange. While it is perfectly possible to write accounts of the grammar of WSerE which (say) map certain instances of *þAT* S with unmarked tense into TO VP when the subject is removed, or which set up a nonfinite complementizer distinct from the oblique complementizer and prohibit it from appearing with a subject at the surface, such accounts remain essentially unmotivated and ad hoc. They all contain some condition

whose function is merely to ensure that TO VP occurs with its particular distribution, and the more sophisticated account adds nothing to the plain statement.

There is no good justification for a more abstract statement of oppositions between complement clauses (like that between Bresnan's FOR : ZERO say, as 'nominative' : 'accusative' variation might suggest) than the basic finite : nonfinite distinction postulated above, but there is a pattern of relationship between PAT S and TO VP which further research may show should be captured this way.

2.4 Conclusion

The conclusions of this chapter must necessarily be somewhat tentative and open to later modification and improvement. But granted this caveat, they are as follows.

On the basis of various tests, such as occurrence after a preposition and commutation with NP, we may conclude that complement clauses of all types in WSerE typically behave like NP or PP at a deeper level, and hence that NP-complementation is the norm. We possibly have evidence of VP-complementation after 'premodals' such as SHAL and MOT, perhaps indicated by the regular unmarked infinitive (discussed in §4.2.2). But otherwise there is no real evidence for anything other than NP-complementation. Finite clauses, moreover, are clearly dominated by S, and while the evidence that nonfinite clauses (with and without subject) behave essentially like sentences rather than like sequences merely dominated by VP or NP and VP is scanty, there is some and I have tentatively concluded that they too

may be seen as at least sometimes dominated by S.

The sequence NP TO VP may, on the grounds of parallel distribution, represent both one and two place deeper structures. There is moreover good reason to accept that one place (NP TO VP) may be connex at the surface since (eg) it occurs as a unit in apposition or when extraposed. There is also evidence from elsewhere in LME that the NP may behave as a member of the matrix clause too, at least when a pronoun, so that this NP may be accessible to some matrix clause processes, or an optional transformation of RAISING into object position might be proposed. But there is no evidence for this in WSerE and the oblique case of pronominal NP after *PAN* must reflect an oblique case complementizer. A scrutiny of the available evidence for case marking of NP in (NP TO VP) before the mid fifteenth century shows that the 'nominative and infinitive' is by no means as well evidenced as some writers imply, and one might as suitably (for WSerE more suitably) propose an oblique case complementizer. Such a suggestion is moreover perfectly compatible with a coherent account of the history of nonfinite clauses in LME and eModE. There is no real evidence that the preposition TO was also used as a complementizer, though it may occur where the distinction between (NP TO VP) and TO NP - TO VP is neutralized.

Finally, it seems that the opposition between finite and nonfinite clauses in WSerE is syntactically basic, though there is some evidence of systematic interchange between the categories principally after verbs of saying, thinking and knowing, and perhaps too in double negative contexts. But while such interchange might merit further investigation there is at present no warrant for introducing a third abstract category to account for the interchange.

CHAPTER 3 THE MAIN TYPES OF FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE AND THEIR MARKING

3.0 Introduction

Complement clauses which contain a finite verb fall into several major types in WSerE, and the distinctions between them are dealt with in this chapter. In the first instance, clauses may contain forms appropriate to 'direct speech', or forms which do not (necessarily) show such appropriacy. This is dealt with in §3.1. 'Indirect' clauses may be further subdivided into indirect statements, questions and exclamations, with a distinction within the statement category between clauses which regularly show shulde or the inflectional subjunctive (after verbs of ordering, wishing and ensuring), and those which do not (§3.4). The topic of indirect questions and exclamations is dealt with in §3.3, in particular the question of the grammar of HOW used in a sense apparently equivalent to PAT. For all clauses the question of the conditions controlling the presence or absence of an introducing PAT is relevant: it is considered specifically for indirect statements in §3.2, and is also discussed in §3.1 and §3.3.

3.1 Indirect Clauses and Direct Speech

3.1.1 The distinction between subordinate 'direct' and 'indirect' speech is generally well observed in the sermons, with few oddities and exceptions not explicable on the basis of general principles like those holding for PE. The major difference from PE is in the use of PAT to introduce direct speech.

Direct speech represents a speech act separate from the rest of its containing sentence: consequently deictic elements (pronouns, tense, adverbs) refer to the context of that act. Indirect speech, on the other hand, does not represent a separate speech act: it contains the deictics appropriate to the containing sentence and context. This, presumably, is why in PE there may be 'failure' of 'backshifting' with certain verbs, under a variety of circumstances all having to do with the validity of the content of the embedded sentence at the time of report; the present indicative may be used instead of the past, with a semantic distinction: 'valid now'. But there can be no such interpretation of 'unshifted' pronouns. Some examples (from Jespersen MEG part 4 chapter 11):

- (1) Joan knew that it is the feminine role to lead conversation.
- (2) The old conductor told me that he has not missed a single trip since he entered the service of the road.
- (3) I learned this morning that they have begun work on the bridge.

It is more satisfactory to treat the tense of such clauses this way than to devise semantic groups of exceptions to 'backshift' as (eg) does Curme (1931 p 418); the use of the present tense also becomes a natural consequence of the definition of deictics within complement clauses after certain verbs for PE. These constraints on the occurrence of tense are a general complement clause phenomenon, and are not restricted merely to those verbs which may report speech. Thus the present tense may occur after the preterite of such verbs as WSerE KNOWE, WITE, UNDIRSTONDE, or PE KNOW, UNDERSTAND which do not occur with direct speech:

- (4) He didn't know whether they are coming.
- (5) *He didn't know, "Are they coming?"

Direct speech does not only differ from indirect speech in the reference of its deictics, but in PE also in other respects: declaratives are not introduced by THAT, except restrictedly, eg in newspaper reports, the word order of questions differs, there is much greater freedom of word order (eg in topicalizing elements), and imperatives, exclamations, incomplete sentences, noises, and foreign or dialect forms may occur although not generally permitted in indirect speech. Note too that indirect speech does not permit the hearer to reconstruct direct speech forms. Hence any attempt to generate indirect speech from direct speech by syntactic rules must fail, though their systematic interrelationships must be retrievable from the grammar. For further discussion of this see Banfield (1973).

Since it is complement clauses in general which show the conditions on reference of tense ('sequence of tense'), pronouns and other elements referred to above as characterizing indirect speech, the opposition is typically rather one between indirect clause and subordinate direct speech than between any special grammatical category of indirect speech and subordinate direct speech. There is, however, such an opposition in PE where the 'direct' feature of question inversion occurs. Consider the distinction between (6) reporting Will you come in?, and (7).

(6) Mary said would they come in.

(7) Mary said whether they would come in.

Thus PE may be said to have a separate category of 'indirect speech' in subordinate clauses: in §3.1.4.2 I discuss whether this is also true for WSerE, and conclude that it may well be. But otherwise, the opposition is between indirect clause and subordinate direct speech.

3.1.2 On distinguishing between subordinate direct speech and indirect clause.

Before discussing direct speech and indirect clauses in the sermons in more detail, it will be useful to consider exactly how we may distinguish between them. This is important partly because grammarians' remarks on pronoun interchange have typically been somewhat programmatic, although the area is a complex one, (eg Jespersen MEG part 7 p 134 who gives examples of a selection of instances, but no analysis of the full range of possibilities, or the inadequate remark in Quirk et al 1972 §11.73), and partly because it is only in terms of a precise characterization that we can safely deal with WSerE: intuition here need not provide a reliable guide. Consequently this section is devoted to discussion of the problem, and we return in earnest to WSerE in §3.1.3. Discussion will start with pronouns, and move on to other areas.*

Pronouns are defined in terms of the most immediate speech act situation which dominates them (in abstract syntax perhaps by the most immediate performative verb), which may either be that of direct speech, introduced by a verb of communication, or of the sermon itself (ie of the situation between author-preacher and audience). It will not be necessary to give a full account of this here; instead I will provide some tests for distinguishing direct speech from indirect clauses.

* Lest it should seem that what is to follow could have been dispensed with, let me provide a short illustration of its value. In II §826 of his Historical Syntax, Visser lists examples of PAT followed by direct speech. But according to my criteria most of the instances that he cites are simply ambiguous or neutralized: there is no reason to assert that direct speech is involved in them rather than an indirect clause. Thus he cites cases where there is violation of sequence of tense (mainly 'general truths'); cases introduced by I say to you; even cases which seem clearly to show an indirect clause (from The Blickling Homilies, The Taming of the Shrew, Cymbeline). In the light of such disagreement, it seems important to say clearly what I mean by direct speech and indirect clause and to provide overt criteria for their distinction.

Let us call I, WE, $\bar{P}U$, 3E +participant, and HE, SHE, IT, $\bar{P}EI$ -participant; further: I, WE +ego, $\bar{P}U$, 3E -ego. Suppose a frame (containing SEIE or some other appropriate verb of communication):

NP_S SEIE TO NP_H [... $NP_{(S)}$... $NP_{(H)}$...]

Here NP_S ('speaker') is the subject of SEIE, and $NP_{(S)}$ is a pronoun in the subordinate clause coreferential with it; NP_H ('hearer') is the indirect object of SEIE, and $NP_{(H)}$ a pronoun in the subordinate clause coreferential with it. Then we can apply these tests:

(i) The clause contains direct speech if:

(a) $NP_{(S)}$ is +participant, +ego and NP_S is not.

(b) $NP_{(H)}$ is +participant, -ego and NP_H is not.

Here the notion of coreference must be taken broadly so as to include the case where $NP_{(S,H)}$ contains $NP_{S,H}$ in its denotation and vice versa (cf (12) below); but we must exclude cases where $NP_{(S,H)}$ also includes the participants in the situation of the sermon or of a higher verb of communication, since participant pronouns can also be defined in terms of these other situations. Thus,

(8) John said to Mary that we would go on Wednesday.

(9) John said to Mary "We will go on Wednesday".

where we includes John and the speaker, or

(10) Paul said: "John said that we would go on Wednesday".

(11) Paul said: "John said: 'We will go on Wednesday'".

where we includes John and Paul will not be assigned to direct speech. And see (16) below.

Illustrations of direct speech from the sermons:

(12) i.185.6 And herefore seid Petir, It is good to us to be here and þerefore make we here þree tabernaclis.

(13) ii.54.12 'But þei answeriden, and seiden to him, Abraham is oure fadir.'

- (14) i.39.7 And 'Crist seide to þe dede bodi, 3ounge man,
Y bidde þe aryse; ...'
- (15) ii.59.6 'And Crist seide to hem, 3e ben of bineþe, and
Y am of above; ...'

On the other hand, this example, where we includes the sermon audience, as well as Paul, does not necessarily contain direct speech:

- (16) ii.239.3 And herfore seiþ Poul here, 'þat we þat ben
of þis kynrede weren undir þe elementis of þis world
servynge, ...'
Gal 4.3 Ita et nos, cum essemus parvuli, sub elementis
mundi eramus servientes.

(Similar examples at ii.224.11, ii.246.11)

The pronoun we could be defined either in terms of Paul's speech situation, or in terms of the sermon audience's, and either direct speech or indirect clause may be involved.

(ii) The clause is indirect if:

(a) $NP_{(S)}$ has the same feature bundle as NP_S , and NP_S is not +participant, +ego.

(b) $NP_{(H)}$ has the same feature bundle as NP_H , and NP_H is not +participant, -ego.

Coreference must be defined as above, with the same exclusions for participant pronouns because of examples like:

- (17) John said to us that we would go on Wednesday.
- (18) John said to us: "We will go on Wednesday".

where NP_H we includes John and the speaker.

Illustrations of indirect clauses from the sermons:

- (19) i.22.16 'and he seide he ou3te him an hundrid
barels of oyle.'
Luke 16.6 At ille dixit: Centum cados olei.
- (20) ii.253.4 3if þou seiþ þou lovest o man, and doist
wrong to anoþer, þou gabbist to God upon þi silf,
and hatest þi first frend.

- (21) i.173.22 And þus seip Crist to hise disciplis þat,
'for þei ben not of þis world, but he hæp chosen
hem of þis world, herfor þe world hatip hem.'
John 15.19 quia vero de mundo non estis, sed ego
elegi vos de mundo: propterea odit vos mundus.
- (22) i.183.8 And if he staunche þis love, and seie to þis
þing þat he wole not love it so myche, for þe love
of God, ...

(iii) The clause is indirect if any +participant pronoun occurs within it so that:

- (a) +participant, +ego is not coreferential with NP_S.
(b) +participant, -ego is not coreferential with NP_H.

The notion 'coreferential' must be broadly defined as above, but there is no need for the exclusions of (i) and (ii).

Illustrations from the sermons:

- (23) ii.53.25 'how seist þou of us, þat we shal be free?'
John 8.33 Quomodo tu dicis: Liberi eritis?
- (24) i.37.5 and þus seip Crist wel, 'þat we may not serve
God and riches of þe worlde, ...'
Matt 6.24 Non potestis Deo servire et mammonae.

and see the ambiguous cases cited under test (i) for examples left unassigned by this test too.

The three tests given above are effective discriminants for PE. Thus they distinguish for (A) and (B):

- (A) Yesterday they said to you that we would go.
(B) Yesterday they said to you "We would go".

1st Case: we = they, or we = they and you: direct speech by test (i)(a) in (B). The other tests fail to apply.

2nd Case: we = you and speaker, or we = speaker (and group): indirect by test (iii) in (A). The other tests fail to apply.

3rd Case: we = you, they and speaker. Direct or indirect in (A) or (B). All three tests fail to apply.

But though effective discriminants, they do not distinguish all possible cases. Thus (C) and (D) are not distinguished:

(C) We said "I was here by eight o'clock". (John and Janet each said "I was ...").

(D) We say I was here by eight o'clock. (John affirms John and Janet's corporate view).

(C) is direct speech and (D) is indirect, but these sequences are both left undetermined by the tests as they stand. The tests are however delicate enough for the sermons, where such more complex cases are not found.

These tests have only been applied when NP_S , NP_H were either present, or suppliable from an immediately preceding verb, as in these instances:

(25) ii.51.3 'Þe Scribis and Phariseis camen ny3 to Jesus, and seiden, Maister, we wolen see a signe of þee.'
(direct speech by test (i)(a))

(26) ii.261.2 He blameþ first þis peple of Grece for þei nurishiden siche fals apostlis, and seiþ bi a witty scorn, '3e beren up wilfulli unwise men whan þat 3e ben wise men;' as who seiþ, in þis 3e ben foolis.
(direct speech by test (i)(b))

(27) ii.64.1 'And Jesus clepide hem to him, and seide, 3e witen wel þat princis of heþene men ben lordis of hem, ...'
(direct speech by test (i)(b))

Other cases have been assigned to a category 'undecidable', eg cases where Y and 3ou are subject and indirect object, cases where the clause contains no relevant pronouns, and cases where NP_H is missing. Although one may feel (as in some of the instances below) that either direct or indirect speech is clearly involved, it seemed necessary to have an objective criterion. There is too in the sermons the particular

danger that 3e may be taken to refer to the sermon audience (as often), so that in (29) and similar instances, though Christ is probably to be taken to be addressing his disciples, one cannot be sure that the sermon audience is not included among the addressees. Similarly in (31) there is no guarantee that Christ is still addressing the Jews, as earlier and later in the sermon, and not the sermon audience: "Christ tells us, 'They never heard the Father's voice ...'". Hence the exclusion of instances without a clear NP_H is important.

- (28) ii.81.25 'Forsoþe, forsoþe, I seie to 3ou, Moises
3af 3ou not breed from hevene, but my fadir 3yveþ
3ou verri breed fro hevene.'
John 6.32 Amen, amen dico vobis: Non Moyses dedit
vobis panem de coelo: sed Pater meus dat vobis panem
de coelo verum.
- (29) i.173.9 And for þis, seiþ Crist after, 'If 3e weren
of þe world, þe worlde wolde love þat is his; ...'
- (30) i.21.22 and so it sufficiþ not to preestis to seie,
God be wiþ you, but þei mut seie wele in herte and
wele in mouþe and lyve wele, ...
- (31) ii.65.14 and herfore seiþ Crist þus, þat 'þei herden
nevere þe vois of þe fadir, ne þei sawen never þe
forme of him.'
John 5.37 neque vocem ejus unquam audistis, neque
speciem ejus vidistis.

We may also use vocative NPs as a test. In PE although vocative-related forms may occur in indirect clauses, they are found only in apposition, and are not vocative in function (unless in apposition with you).

(32) Paul said that I, his friend/Tony, would not forget him. So, for WSerE I have assigned to direct speech any clause containing a nonappositive NP which is 'vocative' in translation.

- (33) i.174.1 and herfore seiþ Joon evangelist, Breþeren,
what man is he þat overcomeþ þe world?

- (34) i.3.9 'and þis riche dampned man seide to Abraham,
Nay, Fadir Abraham, but if ony of dede men wende
to hem and warne hem, þei shal do penaunce, ...'

Perhaps more dubious are the examples of (35) because of the occurrence of such appositive NPs in PE indirect clauses; but I take them as direct speech:

- (35) ii.228.1 And efte seiþ þe same lawe of God, 'Be 3e
heþene men glade,' for 3e ben oon 'wiþ his puple'.
And efte seiþ þis same lawe, '3e alle heþene men,
herie þe Lord, and alle puplis preisen 3e him; ...'

Tense provides us with a final test. From what was said above it will be clear that in principle a sentence with seide (or other preterite verb of communication) followed by the present tense, might either have direct speech or an indirect clause with present tense: eg

- (36) i.177.5 And Crist shewide þe cause and þe nede of þis
prechinge, 'for he seide, Ripe corn is moche, and
fewe workmen aboute it.'

However when a 'backshifted' tense is found, we have an indirect clause: the judgement that the corresponding direct speech clause would have contained the present tense may be made from the Vulgate, or sometimes from context, but has always been made cautiously (in particular because the preterite subjunctive may be used in 'remote' functions, cf Mustanoja, 1960 p 451 et seq). Examples:

- (37) i.7.6 'but scribis and Phariseis gruchiden aȝens
þis and blasfemiden aȝens Crist, and seiden, He
ete wiþ hem' unlawfully; ...
Luke 15.2 Et murmurabant pharisei et scribae,
dicentes: Quia hic peccatores recipit, et manducat
cum illis.

- (38) i.5.9 and for þe first seide þat þis was nedeful,
þerefore 'he preide þe lordis messenger to have
him excusid.'

I take these three tests to be the major discriminants between sure cases of direct speech and indirect clause in WSerE. Using them, with the verbs AXE and SEIE (which show the highest incidence of

direct speech), about two thirds of the subordinate clauses can be put in one category or the other. But before discussing other aspects of direct and indirect clauses in more detail, it is necessary to consider the status of \dot{P} AT.

3.1.3 \dot{P} AT introducing direct speech.

Statements in direct speech may be introduced by \dot{P} AT; I know of nearly a dozen striking examples where a direct speech pronoun occurs next to \dot{P} AT, as in the first three here:

- (39) ii.84.12 ' \dot{P} e womman answeride, and seide, Y have noon housebonde. And Jesus seide to hir, \dot{P} ou seidest wel, \dot{p} at Y have noon housebonde. For \dot{p} ou hast hadde fyve housebondis, ...'
John 4.17 Dicit ei Jesus: Bene dixisti, quia non habeo virum.
- (40) i.228.15 'Many shulen come in my name, and seie \dot{p} at, I am Crist, ...'
Matt 24.5 dicentes: Ego sum Christus ...
- (41) ii.168.6 'and \dot{p} ei ... seiden, \dot{p} at we han seen wundirs to day.'
Luke 5.26 dicentes: Quia vidimus mirabilia hodie.
- (42) ii.85.20 'and \dot{p} ei seiden to \dot{p} e womman, \dot{p} at, Now not for \dot{p} i speche we trowen in \dot{p} is' profete; ...
John 4.42 Et mulieri dicebant: Quia jam non propter tuam loquelam credimus ...

(Further examples: i.25.1, 80.6, 127.25, probably 177.22, 202.17, 229.27, 243.14; ii.18.31, 168.27, 168.34, 393.19; and note the possibility that some instances of \dot{P} AT + NP (etc) are direct speech (cf §5.1.3.5). Here we might compare such parallels as Greek $\acute{o}\tau\iota$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$; Latin quia, quoniam; Arabic ʔinna.)

Two questions immediately present themselves about the status of \dot{P} AT in such sentences: what is its relationship to Latin QUIA? and is it a cataphoric pronoun, or nearly related to such a use?

To deal with the second question first: the possibility of cataphoric $\dot{P}AT$ before a dependent clause in WSerE. There certainly are instances of cataphoric $\dot{P}AT$ in the phrases IN $\dot{P}AT$ $\dot{P}AT$ (eg i.75.21, 23,28, i.236.29,30), BY $\dot{P}AT$ $\dot{P}AT$ (eg i.160.28, ii.293.15,22), and FOR $\dot{P}AT$ $\dot{P}AT$ (ii.282.2) (PE 'in, by, because of this, that ...'), and more dubious cataphoric instances at i.28.23 and in (43):

- (43) ii.56.4 Bokis seien $\dot{p}at$ [sic MS] bine $\dot{p}e$ bileve, how
Adam sette many kindis of $\dot{p}e$ fruyte ...

These may make a cataphoric use of $\dot{P}AT$ seem plausible. Moreover Barbara Hall Partee (1973) shows that the relationships which occur between subordinate direct speech and the matrix sentence are those which occur between sentences in discourse, which "lends further support to Davidson's claim that the quoted sentence is not syntactically or semantically a part of the sentence that contains it" (p 418 and Davidson 1969). Davidson's proposed abstract structure for (44) would be like (45).

- (44) John said, "Alice swooned".

- (45) John said like this: Alice swooned.

Perhaps WSerE has $\dot{P}AT$ in this essentially demonstrative function, paralleling the use of $\dot{P}US$ before direct speech:

- (46) i.165.9 Crist seip $\dot{p}us$: 'I am a verri vyne and
my Fadir is tylyer' of $\dot{p}is$ vynezgerde.

There seems to be some support for this view in Arnold's punctuation, which is very frequently a comma after $\dot{P}AT$, as in (40) and (42). Since there is very often punctuation (in Arnold and the manuscript) between NP and clause in apposition, it seemed at first sight as if there might be some evidence here for a cataphoric use of $\dot{P}AT$. However, Arnold also punctuates HOW similarly on occasion, and on my investigating the instances of $\dot{P}AT$ + direct speech (and HOW followed by a comma) in the manuscript, it turned out that Arnold's edition was misleading. In all cases the

manuscript had either no punctuation, or punctuation preceding **PAT** (or **HOW**). So there is in fact no evidence here for **PAT** as a cataphoric element. There is, moreover, little support for this view in the answer to our other problem: the relationship between **PAT** and **QUIA**.

The fourteen clear examples of **PAT** + direct speech which I have noted in the sermons all contain direct speech which is either underlined as direct translation from the Vulgate, or closely related to it (eg as a later report of the Vulgate text).^{*} It reproduces Vulgate **QUIA** on 8 occasions; of the 6 which do not reproduce **QUIA**, 3 follow a Vulgate verb of saying and may conceivably have had **QUIA** in some medieval bibles: indeed 2 of these 3 examples are related to one text: Matt 24.5. But the other 3 merely introduce a Vulgate quotation. In (47) there is no good reason to suppose a relationship to Vulgate **QUIA**, because it is taken from the middle of a passage of speech while (48) has **PAT** although the earlier translation does not.

- (47) i.202.17 for Crist seiþ and mai not lye, þat, Who
is not wiþ me, he is aȝens me; ...
Matt 12.30 Qui non est mecum, contra me est ...
(and cf i.177.22)

- (48) i.127.25 þis shorte word of Crist, whan he seiþ þat,
Bifore þat Abraham shulde be, Y am.
cf i.126.23 'and seiðe, Soþely, soþely,' to showe
his two kyndis, 'Bifore þat Abraham shulde be, Y am.'
John 8.58 Dixit eis Jesus: Amen, amen dico vobis,
antequam Abraham fieret, ego sum.

It looks as if **PAT** was available before direct speech even when Latin **QUIA** was not being translated, but the strength of the

^{*} There is a possible example without apparent Vulgate or Latin equivalent at ii.74.29, but this could very well show an indirect clause switching to direct speech after and.

relationship with QUIA may be shown in that þAT only occurs before direct speech which is Latin translation. Indeed, there are only three examples in the corpus of direct speech rendering QUIA + direct speech, and all three have þAT, though there is a possible exception in (49). But here it is not clear that the construction is not SEIE + direct speech, WRITE + indirect clause.

- (49) i.25.29 'Jesus ... seide to hem þat it is writun,
Myn hous shulde be an hous of preier, but ye have
maad it a denne of þeues.'
Luke 19.46 Dicens illis: Scriptum est: Quia domus
mea domus orationis est.

The impression we get here of the status of þAT is reinforced by an examination of the examples from all periods of English cited by Visser II §826. He includes many instances which may simply be dealt with as indirect speech without 'backshifted' tense (as remarked above). If we restrict attention only to those instances which pass my tests for direct speech, we find that most of the examples in OE, ME and eModE are translations of (or even glosses on) the Vulgate (and Genesis and Exodus with a Latin source). These may well be motivated by the relationship of the texts to Latin. Otherwise there are only ME examples in Brunne's Chronicle, King Alisaundre, Malory's Morte d'Arthur, Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine, and Earl Rivers' The Cordyal, and for some of these instances we might wonder whether a relationship with French is involved, rather than a strictly native development. Visser (§826) quotes a parallel construction from OF, and Verschoor (1959 p 81) supplies a further possible parallel (and note his section on the imperative p 85 et seq). However the construction is not remarked as such in Verschoor (or in historical syntaxes

of French). At all events, whatever the situation with respect to French, it is clear that this construction has generally been favoured in translation from Latin.

Granted the evidence of the distribution in ME more generally, as shown us by Visser, and the (admittedly scanty) evidence found in the sermons, it seems reasonable to draw the following tentative conclusion. In the sermons $\bar{P}AT$ before reported direct speech is a feature restricted to English which renders Latin (even, perhaps, the Vulgate); it is not merely a calque on *QUIA*, but its freedom of use is restricted to areas where its occurrence as a calque might have been expected. Along with other features of the grammar of WSerE (see §1.6.3) it points to the existence of a separate style of English for Latin translation. In this, there is no real support for the notion that $\bar{P}AT$ may be essentially cataphoric (a demonstrative rather than a complementizer), or that it is essentially a native development. Visser (II §826) quotes no OE examples which are unambiguous which do not depend on Latin, so I know of no evidence that this construction shows a historical development from a native use cataphoric to direct speech following. Despite Davidson's (1969) suggestion of a preceding abstract demonstrative, we might simply take direct speech to be an object (of special status) introduced by $\bar{P}AT$, as are other clausal objects. On the other hand, the availability of the demonstrative $\bar{P}AT$ in cataphoric function before a $\bar{P}AT$ -clause (IN $\bar{P}AT$ $\bar{P}AT$ etc) may well have contributed to the acceptability of the Latin based usage, as earlier may the wider cataphoric usage of OE $\bar{P}AT$. Without denying that this use of $\bar{P}AT$ may represent the selection of a feature from speech which is underrepresented

in written texts, it seems most reasonable to take the usage as essentially borrowed (though perhaps traditional), and possibly dependent on the availability of $\bar{P}AT$ for a (contracting) range of cataphoric employments, than to see it as merely the survival of an earlier, native cataphoric construction.

3.1.4 Subordinate direct speech and indirect clause in Wyclifite Sermon English.

Granted that we may satisfactorily discriminate the two major categories of direct speech and indirect clause as described above, we may say that both occur as verbal object, and in apposition to NP or $\bar{P}US$. For details of their distribution see chapter 5. Both indirect and direct forms occur in passages introduced by a verb of communication, but direct speech also occurs when the sermon narrator returns to quote again from the Vulgate text (as most probably in i.38.1, ii.65.18, ii.276.32, ii.298.10,18), and more clearly in examples with encapsulated seip NP, like (50).

- (50) ii.65.23 'Y cam,' seip Crist, 'in name of my fadir,
and 3e token not me; ...'

The questions which next arise are:

- (a) To what extent do 'sequence of tense' rules normally hold?
- (b) What other distinctions are there between indirect clause and direct speech?
- (c) Is there any interchange in use between these categories and how regularly are they discriminated?

3.1.4.1 Sequence of tense: there are instances which presumably show Jespersen's 'back shifted preterite', though we cannot be sure

that a 'back shifted perfect' may not be involved syntactically
(MEG part 4 chapter 11).

- (51) i.29.37 'and ever þe more þei woundriden, and seiden
amonge hemsilf þat Crist hadde done alle þingis
wele, for he made deefe to heere and doumbe men
to speke.'
Mark 7.37 Et eo amplius admirabantur, dicentes:
Bene omnia fecit et surdos fecit audire, et mutos
loqui.

Here the 'back shifted preterite' is followed by two instances in
which there is no further shift. Similarly:

- (52) i.39.9 'Al þe puple hadde drede, and preisiden
God, and saiden, þat a greet prophete roos amonge
hem, and þat God hadde visitid his puple, ...'
Luke 7.16 et magnificabant Deum, dicentes: Quia
propheta magnus surrexit in nobis: et quia Deus
visitavit plebem suam.

(Further examples with hadde from a Vulgate direct speech preterite:
i.5.5,10,17 but here there is contrast with a preterite from a Vulgate
direct speech present).

The general 'sequence of tense' constraint, that a verb in (or
'commanded' by) the preterite (see Langacker 1969 for the notion
'command') may not be followed by a noun clause main verb in the
present, holds for the most part, with some exceptions for verbs of
communication and knowing. Some of the exceptions seem clearly to
be interpretable in terms of the statement's or question's relevance
to the time of report: categories such as 'general truth' or 'truth
at the moment of speaking' may be invoked:

- (53) ii.53.26 'But Jesus answeride to hem,' and telde hem
how he undirstood þer ben many fredoms, and many
þraldomes contrarie to hem.
(a point which is immediately developed in the sermon)
- (54) ii.65.22 'But he knewe wel þes Jewis, þat þei han
not Goddis love in hem.'
John 5.42 Sed cognovi vos, quia dilectionem Dei
non habetis in vobis.

- (55) ii.6.10 And sum men seien þat Crist meenide þat he
himsilf ... is more þan Joon Baptist.
- (56) i.123.25 But siþ Crist reprovyde Petre and saide a
cause general, þat who ever smytiþ þus wiþ sworde,
he shal perishe bi Goddis word, ...
(unless this is ¹PAT + direct speech)
- (57) ii.229.30 But napeles, as Poul seiþ, 'here' in þis
liif wolden 'men axe þat a man be found trewe
amongis dispensours' of an house.

(Further examples ii.83.32, i.174.30, ii.256.30, i.31.34, ?i.198.31,
?ii.74.29).

There are, however, also cases which, though they probably belong
here, are (intuitively) less clear as instances of 'present relevance'.
I cite all the instances known to me, beginning with the clearer
exceptions, and including cases which do not pass my tests for indirect
speech but which may nonetheless have it.

- (58) i.166.22 And so, al if ech man shulde hope þat he
be lyme of holi Chirche, neþeles he shulde suppose
þis bineþe bileve and wiþ a drede, but if God
tellde him specialy what eende þat he shal have.
- (59) i.5.22 Þe first two men excusiden hem by þis, þat
þei wolen be lordly to distroye Goddis enemyes,
and þei wolen be riche to helpe pore men; but
þe þridde, ... is an uncurtais fool; ...
(where the men of the parable are being interpreted
as general types)
- (60) ii.35.33 Luc seiþ þat, 'Jesus was axid of þe Phariseis
whanne Goddis rewme comeþ.' And it semep þei
wolden wite whanne al þe Chirche shal come to
hevene; ...
Luke 17.20 Interrogatus autem a pharisaeis: Quando
venit regnum Dei?
(cf ii.90.21 for the present tense in a question, and
Visser II §829 for the type. But this may be direct
speech.)

There is more difficulty in the switch from was to shul in (61) and the
use of hopiþ in (62).*

* See also: ii.254.18, but cf Visser III.1 §1694: this may have
mut as a past tense; i.32.1 (for which see (74) below); i.129.18. It
is possible that in examples with conjoined preterite and present (i.129.18,
i.326.4) there is deletion of the second tense as at i.170.20, though this
is not common in prose. Cf Mustanoja (1960 pp 485-8), and P Kiparsky,
"Tense and Mood in Indo-European Syntax" Foundations of Language 1968 p 30.

- (61) i.326.3 And Petre saw þat Joon was ny3 Crist, and
homly wiþ him, and spake to Joon þat he shulde
axe Crist which was he þat shul traye Crist, as
Crist hadde seid.

(note the question in direct speech at i.325.22, and in indirect in the following sentence. Perhaps there is a switch into direct speech with citation from the Vulgate.)

- (62) i.398.28 '... Disciplis cam to Jesus and axiden him,
who, he hopiþ, is more in þe rewme of hevene?'
Matt 18.1 ... dicentes: Quis, putas, major est in
regno coelorum?

Some cases of apparent 'violation' of sequence may be PAT + direct speech where the Vulgate is being rendered: i.3.7,12; i.25.29; i.31.35.

- (63) i.3.7 'But Abraham seide to him þat þei have Moyses
and prophetis' in þer bokes þat þei writen, 'heere
þei hem' spedely, and kepe þei Goddis commandementis; ...
Luke 16.29 Et ait illi Abraham: Habent Moysen et
prophetas: audiant illos.

3.1.4.2 Other distinctions between indirect clause and direct speech.

One might consider adopting various other criteria to distinguish direct speech and indirect clause, but they seem to be more or less unclear in use, and to be indicative rather than decisive. However it seems that we may here have some evidence of a distinction between indirect speech and indirect clause, alluded to in §3.1.0, in the existence of a few examples which have direct features alongside indirect pronominal forms.

(a) Exclamations, such as LORD! LO! or such forms as 3HE, NAY occur only with direct speech, or with verbs which take direct speech, with the exception of NAY.

- (64) ii.250.4 as God seide 3he, and Eve doutide; but þe
fend seide opynly nay.

- (65) i.21.21 And 'it sufficip not to seie, Lord, Lord, ...'

But NAY occurs after SHEWE ¹PAT (ii.166.14) and after ¹PENKE (i.181.3). There is no evidence that either verb occurred with direct speech, while OED records NAY outside it (OED Nay, adv.¹ and sb. 4.). Expressions which are not complete sentences are not a good test since they also occur after verbs which do not take direct speech, with indirect pronouns (eg i.99.18), and after ¹PAT (see §5.1.3.5). It may be that the exclamations should provide an indication of direct speech.

(b) In questions it is not the case that direct and indirect speech are distinguished by the occurrence of inverted subject and verb (with non-subject WH-phrase) in direct speech, and its failure in indirect clauses. Direct speech questions headed by WHERE 'whether' do not show inversion:

- (66) i.101.20 'Where it is not leueful to me to do wiþ
my owne þing as Y wole? Where þin eyen ben wickid
for þat Y am good?'
Matt 20.15 Aut non licet mihi quod volo, facere?
an oculus tuus nequam est, quia ego bonus sum?
- (67) ii.85.5 'Jesus seide to his disciplis, ... Where 3e
seien not, þat þer ben foure moneþis to heruest,
and ripe corn is comen?'
John 4.35 Nonne vos dicitis, quod adhuc quatuor
menses sunt, et messis venit?
- (68) ii.319.27 Lord, where þis was a good herde, þat
puttide his lyf þus for his sheepe!

Apart from this, it is true for the majority of instances that direct speech has inversion except with subject WH-phrase, and indirect speech does not. But there are exceptions both ways. Instances of failure of inversion are few, and seem to occur where the Vulgate word order is followed:

- (69) ii.83.28 'But þis womman of Samarie seide to Crist, ...
 How þou, siþ þou art a Jew, axist to drynke of
 me ...?'
 John 4.9 Dicit ergo ei mulier illa Samaritana:
 Quomodo tu Judaeus cum sis, bibere a me poscis, ...?
- (70) ii.78.4 'Þei seiden to Crist, Whi þi disciplis
 breken þe mandementis of oure eldris, ...?'
 Matt 15.2 dicentes: Quare discipuli tui transgredi-
 untur traditionem seniorum?
- (71) ii.146.27 ... Joones disciplis camen to Jesus, 'and
 axiden þis questioun, Whi we and Pharisees fasten
 ofte, but þi disciplis fasten not? And Jesus seide
 to hem, Wher children of þe spouse may moorne, ...?'
 Matt 9.14 Quare nos, et Pharisaei, jejunamus
 frequenter, discipuli autem tui non jejunant? Et
 ait illis Jesus: Numquid possunt filii sponsi
 lugere ...?

Instances of inversion in indirect speech are more frequent, but I argue in §5.1.4 that most instances of the type should probably be dealt with as cases of the reordering of NPs in the subordinate clause, largely for reasons of 'weight' (the verb mainly involved is BE). But in (72), and perhaps (73), we do seem clearly to have indirect pronoun and tense with the word order normally associated with direct speech without the intervention of such a principle.

- (72) i.41.23 'and Crist axide hem þis demaunde, þat
 3if þer oxe or þer asse felle in þe dicke, wolde
 þei not drawe him out in þer sabot daie; ...'
 Luke 14.5 Et respondens ad illos, dixit: Cujus
 vestrum asinus aut bos in puteum cadet, et non
 continuo extrahet illum die sabbati?
- (73) i.124.17 And herfore seiþ þe word of Crist, 'þat
 3if he seiþ treuþe, whi trowen þei not to him.'
 John 8.46 Si veritatem dico vobis, quare non
 creditis mihi?

(c) In reported commands the order verb subject is also found, as it is in direct speech.

- (74) i.32.1 'And Crist seide to him þat he answeride
riȝt; do he þis indede, and he shal lyve in blisse.'
Luke 10.28 Dixitque illi: Recte respondisti: hoc
fac, et vives.
Note that do he cannot be direct speech.

- (75) ii.351.32 Poul ... biddiþ, 'þat ȝif we lyve bi spirit,
wandre we here bi spirit and be we not made coveitous
of vein glorie, ...'

(cf i.3.8, ii.362.20: both could be instances of $\bar{P}AT$ + direct
speech, though direct speech is not well paralleled after BIDDE and
 $\bar{P}AT$ + direct speech is not otherwise found.)

It is tempting to suggest that in these reported questions and
commands there may be a mixture of direct word order and indirect
pronouns (and sometimes tense) which may be thought of as showing an
approximation of indirect clause to direct speech and manifesting a
distinct category of indirect speech. However in each case the
'direct' feature is separated from the introducing verb and $\bar{P}AT$,
and a transition to full direct speech is possible in such a position
(cf Visser II §825: the ME examples would support this). If this
is correct, then these examples need not be straightforwardly parallel
to PE He asked would we go, but may represent a transition to the kind
of mixture found in 'free indirect speech' (Banfield 1973), though not
the extent, or distribution of such mixture. However, potential
examples of 'free indirect speech' in the sermons seem rather dubious
(eg i.185.9, i.197.4, ii.65.22, ii.73.4). But this point has not been
systematically investigated.

Thus WSerE contains a type of indirect speech distinct from
noun clause, which has only been found at some remove from the
introducing verb and conjunction and might therefore be parallel
to PE indirect speech or to PE free indirect speech.

3.1.4.3 The regularity of the distinction between direct and indirect.

There are instances where an indirect clause becomes direct speech during a quoted passage, both at sentence boundaries, and in the course of a sentence:

- (76) i.37.20 and þus seiþ Crist, 'þat we shulde not be
bisye to oure lyf ... Biholde 3e þe foulis of
þe eire ...'
Matt 6.25 Ideo dico vobis, ne solliciti sitis
animae vestrae ... Respicite volatilia coeli, ...
- (77) ii.263.26 And þerfore seiþ Poul, 'þat he shal seið
treuþe, and þat he spariþ to speke here, þat no
man gesse of him over þis þat he seep in me, or
heeriþ ony þing of me.'
2 Cor 12.6 Veritatem enim dicam: parco autem, ne
quis me existimet supra id quod videt in me, aut
aliquid audit ex me.

as we find in PE (particularly in newspaper reports). See also
i.144.19, i.170.25 (with parenthetical he seiþ), i.175.12, i.188.11,
and also i.8.3, i.59.21, ii.74.29; after a TO-infinitive: i.9.33.
There is even an example of the shift the other way:

- (78) i.90.10 'And after Crist bade him, See þat pou
telle no man, but go and shewe him to þe preest,
and offre þat gifte þat Moises bad ...'
Matt 8.4 Et ait illi Jesus: Vide, nemini dixeris:
sed vade, ostende te sacerdoti, et offer munus quod
praecipit Moyses, ...

The most satisfactory way of illustrating how regular the
distinction between direct and indirect is in the corpus, seems to
be to provide figures for different categories of occurrence for the
two verbs which show a reasonable proportion of the two categories:
AXE 'to ask a question', and SEIE. Applying only the tests given

above in §3.1.2, ie those on pronouns, tense shift and vocatives, we find:*

	DIRECT	INDIRECT	UNDECIDED
AXE 'ask a question' + clause	3	6	3
SEIE + PAT-clause	5	78	93
SEIE + unIntroduced clause	139	19	41
	147	103	137 = 387

These figures depend almost entirely on the pronoun test.

As can be seen, two thirds of the instances are discriminated: evidently we may conclude that the direct/indirect distinction as defined by the tests given above is meaningful and well maintained, since there are only three instances of conflict of criteria, and they are readily interpreted as a shift from indirect to direct speech ((77) above, i.175.12, i.188.11; however note that only (77) does not show the shift at the boundary of a conjoined clause). There are 12 instances of 'violation of sequence' among the ambiguous instances: nine are probably best taken as direct speech (three after PAT in Vulgate translation), the others as showing the 'present relevance' of the PAT-clause.

From the corpus instances of AXE and SEIE, then, we get a picture of a well maintained and easily distinguished opposition between direct speech and indirect clause, with a small use of the options discussed above: (1) PAT + direct speech in Latin translation,

* These figures do not include the passive it is seied or examples with relative clause movement, but do include examples with appositive PUS, NP. Where reported speech consisted of more than one orthographic sentence in Arnold's edition, the tests were only applied to the first sentence.

(2) present tense in a subordinate indirect clause for the expression of 'present relevance', (3) switching from indirect clause into direct speech. We might add that there is also the possibility (perhaps a restricted one) of using direct speech question and request constructions in indirect speech.

3.1.5 Conclusion.

In WSerE there is a well maintained opposition between subordinate direct speech and indirect complement clauses as defined by the tests involving pronouns, tense and vocatives developed in §3.1.2. The regularity of the distinction, as well as the value of the tests, is illustrated by the fact that the tests discriminate two thirds of instances after AXE and SEIE and show only a few instances of conflict, explicable as secondary options. Tense in WSerE behaves like PE tense in that the tense of a complement clause may be relative to the situation of utterance. Thus the constraint against the occurrence of the present tense after a past tense verb is (like today's) not absolute, and occasionally we find a present tense with 'current relevance'. Within this general framework there are three minor options: a possible category of 'indirect speech' with inversion in questions and requests as typical in direct speech, but with indirect pronouns; the possibility of using PAT before direct speech when the Vulgate is being translated (which makes the construction seem unlikely to be simply a native cataphoric development despite the fact that it need not render QUIA); and some switching between indirect and direct, typically at clause boundaries.

3.2 Factors Controlling the Presence and Absence of \bar{P} AT in Clauses of Indirect Statement

3.2.0 In WSerE \bar{P} AT may introduce direct speech or occur in association with a WH-form in an indirect question, but its most typical use with complement clauses is to head indirect statements, commands, etc. Alongside such clauses there are fairly frequent unintroduced clauses which are parallel in distribution (except that they do not occur in subject position), and which show the same internal features, eg:

- (1) i.22.16 'and he seide he ouȝte him an hundrid barels
of oyle.'
Luke 16.6 At ille dixit: Centum cados olei.

In this section I will refer to these simply as 'unintroduced clauses', but will also for convenience speak of them as being introduced by ZERO; elsewhere they are taken to fall under the heading ' \bar{P} AT-clause'. Although distributionally parallel, unintroduced clauses and \bar{P} AT-clauses are not in free variation: such factors as the element heading the clause, the presence of a NP before the clause, and the matrix construction are all involved in discriminating \bar{P} AT and ZERO in a manner apparently not too different from PE. Whether stylistic level and emotional involvement is also a factor (as Storms 1966 suggests for PE) it is scarcely possible to say.* I will first discuss some difficulties of interpretation of the data (§3.2.1), then detail the incidence of unintroduced clauses in §3.2.2, outline the factors which seem to condition the choice between ZERO and \bar{P} AT (§3.2.3) and formulate the conclusion in a variable rule (§3.2.4). Finally I discuss the significance of the variation in §3.2.5 and compare it with PE.

* One obvious test is the proportionate incidence of ZERO and \bar{P} AT in passages of Vulgate translation. But there is no evidence of a difference in distribution. Indeed, a fourfold contingency table for SEIE with ZERO/ \bar{P} AT : VULGATE TRANSLATED/NOT, has χ^2 a mere 0.32.

3.2.1 Difficulties involving comment clauses, clauses in apposition and the direct-indirect distinction.

3.2.1.1 In PE it is possible to use many of the subject verb combinations which introduce THAT-clauses as what Quirk et al (1972)

§11.65 call 'comment clauses', as in:

(2) He was ill, John muttered, for nearly a week.

(3) John was ill, he believed, for nearly a week.

(4) John was ill, I believe, for nearly a week.

and this is even possible for more restricted initial combinations with a separate tone group (Quirk et al 1972 §11.66, Bolinger 1972).

(5) I declare, you look like a ghost.

(6) You know, I think you're wrong.

(7) Notice, two are enough.

(8) What really counts is, you have the money.

These phrases are adverbial (or perhaps, when initial, coordinate) in function: "There can be no question that with Postposed Main Phrases [his term for the non-initial cases - AW] we are in the presence of an adverbialization on a large scale and in all stages" (Bolinger 1968b p 10), and such phrases relate the sentence to its context or show how it is to be taken, rather than themselves forming part of the message, narrowly considered. For the distinction between 'self-referring' and 'sentence-qualifying' uses of phrases like I believe see Urmson (1952), Aijmer (1972); and a related distinction is involved where speech is reported.

Similar constructions are found in ME:

- (9) William of Palerne (ed Skeat, EETS, ES 1) 1174
he is my lege man • lelly þou knowes, ...
- (10) Chaucer Book of the Duchess 841 hir eyen
So gladly, I trow, myn herte seyen, ...
- (11) Chaucer Cant Tales I 2307
I am, thow woost, yet of thy compaignye,
A mayde, and love huntynge and venerye, ...

and certainly in WSerE with seip he etc (only SEIE is found here)
encapsulated in direct speech:

- (12) i.177.15 'Go 3e', seip Crist, 'for Y sende 3ou
as lambren among wolves.'

In the corpus there are no clear examples of such 'downgrading' of the
main verb which are not introduced by AS, (with BIDDE, SEIE, TECHE,
TELLE, WITE), or which may not be direct speech (with SEIE).

- (13) ii.249.1 And, as Poul biddip, no broþer shulde
suffre but 3if oþer suffre wip him, ...
- (14) i.204.30 And, as Crist tellip, þese þat stonden
in Cristis cause, 'han her names cast out' as
cursid men and heretikis, ...

The following example with SEIE may merely show an unIntroduced sub-
ordinate clause, with topicalization of the object of CONFESSE, and
inversion of subject and verb:

- (15) i.196.19 and every sich man, seip Crist, he shal
confesse to his Fadir.

But despite the lack of proof positive that 'comment clause' con-
structions without AS exist in WSerE, it seems necessary to treat
instances like the following as potential examples:

- (16) ii.264.26 For wel we witen þei bynden hem more to
holynes bi þer signes, and wel we witen þei my3ten
as myche holden holynes wip comoun signes.
- (17) i.152.16 But me þinkip þat it is sop þat þis
Goost comeþ boþe of þe Fadir and of þe Sone, and
þes persones ben o cause of him; and me þinkip
to noon entent shulde Crist seye, he sendip þis
Goost, or þat þis Goost is his, but 3if þis Goost
come of him.

- (18) i.127.24 For Y am certeyn 3if þou be never so wyse
 ne olde, unneþe þou wolt afferme þis shorte word
 of Crist, ...
 '... you will scarcely (be able to) confirm this
 short saying of Christ's ...'

We certainly find related adverbials:

- (19) i.170.1 And certeyn þei ben not frendis to Crist
 þat han not þis love, but oonli þei þat han
 þis love; ...

Granted that we must presume the existence of such 'downgraded' instances, what is their place in a study of the alternation between ¹PAT and ZERO? Aijmer (1972) argued that the deletion of PE THAT was a step on the road to adverbialization, and that it involved a major change in structure, not a simple deletion. I find her arguments unconvincing (cf especially Aijmer 1972 chapter II §§2,6). Thus, it is possible to interpret either of the following as 'sentence-qualifying', or to add the tag appropriate to the lower clause to either:

- (20) I believe that John died after a week (didn't he?).

- (21) I believe John died after a week (didn't he?).

I take it then that we may reasonably suppose that unintroduced clauses and ¹PAT-clauses are structurally similar, and that they differ from constructions with 'downgrading' which are more akin to adverbials despite the semantic overlap (cf Kajita 1968). In investigating the deletion of ¹PAT in WSerE, therefore, it will be best to try to remove instances which may show 'downgrading' and place them to one side. This I have done by assuming that the ME construction (without AS) had broadly the same kind of function as in PE, being either not part of the message (narrowly considered) or coordinate: this provides a rough semantic criterion, which I have used along with the structure implied by the Vulgate, cf (1), in attempting to assess doubtful cases.

There can be no sure distinctions here (if only because of the semantic overlap just mentioned). But a fair picture of the deletion of ¹PAT can only be attained by making the effort at this distinction. Here are three examples of sentences not classified as 'doubtful' on the grounds of interpretation (though the first might be taken as downgraded ironically):

- (22) i.40.24 many feynen hem in statis, and done reverse
in her lyf, and 3it pei seien pei ben perfiter
pan weren pe first clerkis of Crist.
- (23) i.110.4 And so pe fend supposid of Crist, 3if he
were God, he shulde do pis, ... [sc. turn stones
into bread - AW]
- (24) ii.254.8 3if he sue his patron as he feyneþ he
sueþ Crist, ...

3.2.1.2 There is a second problem in dealing with unintroduced clauses in apposition to NP or to ¹PUS. For clauses in restrictive apposition there are few potential candidates, and they are of quite doubtful interpretation; cf (25) where it is no drede may be parenthetical (cf the common adverbial no drede), or show drede as head of the unintroduced clause (hardly with no drede as predicate on the clause as subject). With nonrestrictive appositional clauses there are further indeterminacies; see §5.2.2. In consequence, it has seemed best to omit such appositional clauses in the first instance, and to concentrate on more straightforward instances in construction with verbs and adjectives.

- (25) i.203.14 And it is no drede Crist spekip of sich
hunger pat is vertuousli take, ...

3.2.1.3 One factor which clearly controls the presence of ¹PAT is whether it is followed by direct speech, or an indirect clause. In

practice this provides a difficulty of interpretation, because of those instances which are followed by an unIntroduced clause which might be either. In discussing the incidence of $\bar{P}AT/ZERO$ I have taken $\bar{P}AT$ (unless followed by clear direct speech) to indicate an indirect clause, and an unIntroduced clause (unless containing clear indirect forms) to be ambiguous: hence I have categorized these separately, and omitted them from the discussion of conditioning factors. The proportion of $\bar{P}AT/ZERO$ as affected by various parameters should not thereby be influenced, although this means omitting many instances with SEIE which itself favours ZERO, granted that the parameters are statistically independent as the work of Labov would suggest, and as seems to be borne out, cf below §3.2.4. The same remark applies to the removal of examples after NP above.

3.2.2 Incidence of unIntroduced clauses.

In the 60,000 words of the corpus there occur

$\bar{P}AT$ S	558		
ZERO S	21	(57)	3.6% (9.3%)

as deep subject, object or predicate not in apposition,* though unIntroduced clauses in fact occur mainly as the sole object of verbs, as is also the case in PE (cf McDavid 1964 p 108). It is interesting to

* The collection of instances which provides the basis for the following discussion omits (1) all instances of direct speech, whether or not headed by $\bar{P}AT$, (2) all instances of conjoined $\bar{P}AT$ -clause, (3) all instances of clauses in apposition, (4) all instances of $\bar{P}AT$ -clause or unIntroduced clause from which some element has been fronted or deleted, (5) all unIntroduced clauses after a verb of saying which while potentially indirect did not pass one of the tests for indirect clause and all 'comment clause' instances. But the figure including (5) is given here in brackets: there are 21 unIntroduced clauses which are clearly subordinate; a further 12 instances have been taken to show possible 'comment clauses', and 36 cases beyond that contain ambiguous unIntroduced clauses: of these about a dozen probably show direct speech (to judge from word order etc). The result may be read as 'between 21 and 57'.

note that the numerical incidence of this deletion is very close to that found for some varieties of PE. Virginia McDavid (1964) investigated the relative incidence of THAT S and ZERO S in 100,000 words of modern, non-fictional, well-edited written English. Her tables 2-8 deal with constructions strictly comparable to those giving the above figures for the corpus. Summing her tables 2-8:*

In 100,000 words:	THAT S	509	
	ZERO S	46	8.3%

R Huddleston (1971) dealt with 135,000 words of modern scientific English. His §4.3 deals with the 676 clauses dominated by NP with IT as head in deep structure, excluding any conjoined clauses (p 171). This group seems to be strictly comparable with McDavid's and with mine, except that he includes 4 examples where THAT was necessarily deleted because of movement transformations. Discounting these 4:

In 135,000 words:	THAT S	652	
	ZERO S	20	3.0%

3.2.3 Factors controlling the selection of PAT or ZERO.

3.2.3.1 Removal of clause subject.

Where the subject of the clause has been removed (by TOPICALIZATION or in a relative clause, say) but the verb remains, almost all instances delete PAT. See §§2.3.2.2 and 5.1.3.5. An example:

(26) ii.167.36 þe toþer, þat 3e seyen is blasfemye of me.

Here I take this factor for granted, and do not include such instances among the examples.

* McDavid may reasonably be interpreted as omitting ZERO S inside a relative clause, and omitting conjoined subordinate clauses from her figures. But she does not explicitly say so.

3.2.3.2 The matrix construction.

It seems that the matrix verb, or construction, is likely to correlate with the choice of $\bar{P}AT$ or ZERO. Thus the figures for deletion in the corpus for the most common verbs are:

	ZERO	$\bar{P}AT$	outside corpus
BIDDE	0	30	(+50 $\bar{P}AT$, no ZERO noted)
SEIE	17	172	(some ZERO)
SEME	0	19	(some ZERO)
WILLE	0	22	(+38 $\bar{P}AT$, no ZERO noted)
WITE	0	45	(some ZERO)

BIDDE is often followed by (TO) NP, but there is a marked contrast here between SEIE and WILLE. Note that LOKE 'take care' in the imperative (2 corpus examples, +2) always takes ZERO, though not in other moods. But perhaps this should be taken as a 'conjoined' comment clause (it occurs with NP initial in the following clause 3 out of the 4 times, which makes it atypical among unintroduced clause constructions). Compare the frequency of PE ZERO after SUPPOSE (Huddleston 1971 pp 173, 179).

3.2.3.3 Element opening clause.

There is a definite correlation between the incidence of ZERO and $\bar{P}AT$ and the character of the element which stands first within the clause. I have divided these initial elements up into three groups:

PRONOMINAL: includes personal pronouns, unmodified man, men, AL (once), existential $\bar{P}ER$, and the generalizing relatives WHO(SO) (EVER) etc.

CONJUNCTION: includes sentential conjunctions, eg 3IF, BUT 3IF, FOR, SIF, WHILE, WHANNE, also AS, HOW OFTE.

'NOUN (PHRASE)': includes one word noun phrases eg God, as well as other noun phrases, and prepositional phrases, but excludes pronominals.

Then, if we plot the incidence of these against PAT, ZERO (omitting the few cases with initial adverb, all with PAT) we find:

	PAT S	ZERO S
Clause initial 'NOUN(PHRASE)'	313	4
Clause initial PRONOMINAL	228	14
Clause initial CONJUNCTION	12	3

This is highly significant: $\chi^2 = 19.8$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$

The correlation is clear. Perhaps it is more readily comprehensible presented this way:

Of clauses whose initial element is 'NOUN(PHRASE)': 4/317 or 1% are unintroduced;

Of clauses whose initial element is a PRONOMINAL: 14/242 or 6% are unintroduced;

Of clauses whose initial element is a CONJUNCTION: 3/15 or 20% are unintroduced.

Here it is instructive to compare parallel figures for the three verbs SEIE, SEME and WITE, which provide contexts where the option ZERO S seems to be more freely chosen. The similar nature of these figures shows that those given above have not been unbalanced by the inclusion of verbs which perhaps rarely (or never) occurred with ZERO S, or tended not to have complex subordinate clauses.

	PAT S	ZERO S
Clause initial 'NOUN(PHRASE)'	133	2
Clause initial PRONOMINAL	97	12
Clause initial CONJUNCTION	6	3

The incidence of unintroduced clauses for clause initial elements is:
'NOUN(PHRASE)' 1.5%; PRONOMINAL 11%; CONJUNCTION 33%.

It seems clear that we should conclude that there is a definite correlation between the nature of the first element in the clause and the presence or absence of PAT, where initial conjunctions, followed by pronominals, provide environments favouring absence of PAT. Since, however, 'noun(phrases)' and pronominals are the most frequent clause initial elements, the majority of unintroduced clauses (66%) do in fact start with a pronominal.

Clearly it is worth investigating whether the result for 'noun (phrase)' and pronominal could be generalized to the length of the initial NP. Unfortunately, the figures for clause initial 'noun (phrase)' with ZERO S in the corpus are hardly significant, and even when we include some randomly collected examples from outside the corpus for comparative purposes there is still not enough evidence to provide support for such a generalization. The small amount of evidence available is consistent with either view of the importance of 'noun(phrase)' length.

3.2.3.4 Elements between verb and clause.

Between verb and clause we may find adverbs and adverb phrases, various prepositional phrases, and NPs representing a verbal object or the inverted subject. The presence of any intervening element correlates with PAT. If we take simply cases where the clause occurs after a verb or adjective (and not after NP predicate), then:

Separating verb and clause:	\bar{P} AT S	ZERO S
Nothing, or NOT only	310	19
An adverb or adverb phrase, (not PP)	40	1
Any series of elements containing at least a NP	203	1

(Here $\chi^2 = 10.17$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$. But this result only holds for the distinction between the first two rows and the final row: the significance of an intervening adverb is not shown. NP here includes any element dominated by NP, hence also pronouns, unlike 'noun (phrase)'. A very similar result emerges from a consideration of the figures with SEIE alone.)

From this it is abundantly clear that the presence of a NP or PP, or some string containing these, correlates with the choice of \bar{P} AT, and it seems probable on more general grounds that the presence of an adverb has a similar effect though there is no specific demonstration of this. The corpus examples with intervening elements are:

- (27) i.5.20 and þes men more beestly excusen hem, not curteysly, as þese two first diden; but seien shortly, þay may not come.
- (28) i.189.33 Crist seiþ at þe bigynnynge, 'If ony man come to him and hate not þes seven þingis, he mai not be Cristis disciple, ...

Outside the corpus we find ZERO after NP which subcategorizes the verb in (29) and i.120.33 (and note also i.99.18 with deletion in the clause);

- (29) i.146.29 And we shulden marke þis word of Crist whan he seiþ to his disciplis, but 3if he go fro hem to hevene, he shal not sende to hem þe Holy Goost; ...

besides other examples with intervening NP (some involve a potentially parenthetical use) at (30) and i.110.4, i.152.5, i.279.28, i.304.28, i.364.24.

- (30) i.330.16 And it semep to many men, sip Crist, wip
alle hise apostlis, lefte alle siche þingis ...
so men myȝten now do.

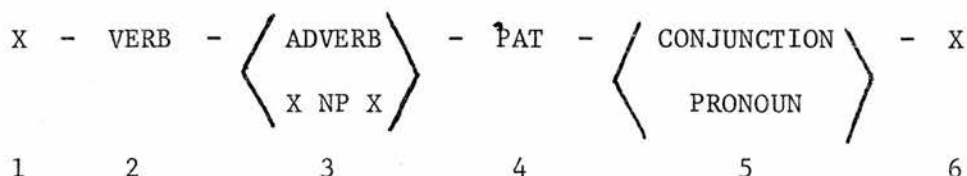
It seems that these results are generalizable to clauses which have NP as head, in that we find no clear example of an unIntroduced clause in close apposition with a preceding NP, while in the instances which occur with open apposition the preponderant initial elements are conjunction and pronominal: CONJUNCTION 4, PRONOMINAL 4, 'NOUN (PHRASE)' 2.

3.2.4 The rule of PAT-DELETION.

Having shown the importance of several parameters, I will now provide a statement of a rule of PAT-DELETION, after the multiplicative variable rule model of Cedergren and Sankoff (1974). That the rule is written in terms of deletion rather than insertion is not meant to imply any claim about the appropriacy of one formulation over the other: either would do. However, this is not just a convenient means of summary (and comparison). It has two other values. In the first place, the fact that the data can be formulated as a well-attested kind of rule, showing variables which apparently represent statistically independent probabilities, provides good support for the linguistic plausibility of the analysis. It looks like other languages. Hence also it seems more plausible that the language of the sermons is homogeneous, that analysis of it will provide a reasonably constrained grammar comparable with others, and that this particular analysis is itself a reasonable one. Secondly,

there is here some further support (though weak because of the small number of variables) for the multiplicative probabilistic rule model of Cedergren and Sankoff (1974) itself, in which (in accordance with Labov's findings) "the presence of a given feature or subcategory tends to affect rule frequency in a probabilistically uniform way in all the environments containing it" (op cit p 336).

PAT-DELETION



where 4,5,6 are dominated by S

$4 \rightarrow < \emptyset >$

Input probability: $p_0 = 0.4$

Preceding environment: VERB $p = 1$

VERB ADVERB $p = 0.7$

VERB .. NP .. $p = 0.2$

Succeeding environment: CONJUNCTION $p = 1$

PRONOUN $p = 0.2$

OTHER $p = 0.05$

This rule has been worked out in accordance with values for post verbal incidence, since the evidence for incidence after NP, whether independent (requires position 2 optional) or predicative is inadequate. But it is in accordance with the rule as stated which may be generalized to such cases. The input probability has been chosen to give values of 1 for the most favoured parameters, in accordance with

Cedergren and Sankoff's definition of input probability (op cit p 341), and the application model has been followed. The predicted and actual values (together with the actual figures of incidence involved) are as follows:

		Clause begins with					
		CONJUNCTION		PRONOUN		OTHER	
Clause preceded by							
VERB	ZERO	2	0.4	13	0.09	4	0.02
	PAT	3	(0.4)	130	(0.08)	177	(0.02)
VERB ADVERB	ZERO	0	-	1	0.056	0	<0.05
	PAT	0	(0.28)	17	(0.056)	23	(0.014)
VERB .. NP ..	ZERO	1	0.1	0	<.013	0	<0.01
	PAT	9	(0.08)	80	(0.016)	114	(0.004)

In each cell the two figures in the left hand column are those of actual incidence in the corpus. The higher, unbracketed decimal expression is the ratio of actual occurrences of ZERO in that cell, while the decimal expression in brackets is the proportion predicted by the rule given above. It will be seen that agreement is good.

As stated this rule does not deal with the influence of lexical verb, on which not enough evidence is available, or with the influence of clause initial verb as a selector of ZERO. It is not clear to me whether this should be treated as part of the same rule. If it is to be, then the rule must be modified by the addition of VERB as an environment within the brackets of 5 in the structural description, and, unless this is simply to be indicated as a categorical environment, the 'non application model' must be used; in this the probability of

the rule's application is given by:

$$p = 1 - (1 - p_o)(1 - p_i)(1 - p_j) \dots$$

so that by assigning to 'clause initial verb' the value $p_{\text{initial verb}} = 1$ we can ensure that for the rule $p = 1$ and the rule is categorical. Suitable values for other probabilities, with the values predicted, are:

Input probability: $p_o = 0$

Preceding environment: VERB $p = 0.05$

VERB ADVERB $p = 0.04$

VERB .. NP .. $p = 0$

Succeeding environment: VERB $p = 1$

CONJUNCTION $p = 0.2$

PRONOUN $p = 0.02$

OTHER $p = 0$

	VERB	CONJUNCTION	PRONOUN	OTHER
VERB	1	0.24	0.07	0.05
VERB ADVERB	1	0.23	0.06	0.04
VERB .. NP ..	1	0.2	0.02	0

3.2.5 Comparison with PE and interpretation.

The most satisfactory interpretation of PAT-DELETION is simply this: PAT helps to mark a clause boundary, and it tends to be deleted more as this function is less necessary. (For the importance of clause boundary marking see (eg) Bever 1970, Kimball 1973.) Deletion is most frequent before other conjunctions because of the perceptual (?and production) difficulties associated with the self-embedded structure:

... [CONJUNCTION [CONJUNCTION - CLAUSE] CLAUSE] ...

It is frequent before pronouns because they also provide some clause boundary marking. But it is less frequent after elements (and particularly NPs) which intervene between verb and clause because of the value a particular verb has for establishing an analysis via a knowledge of its subcategorization (Bever 1970).

The reasonableness of this interpretation may mean that we should regard the variable rule provided above as merely a convenient means of stating a set of interrelated facts whose explanation lies here. But this interpretation, or explanation, together with the reasonableness of its relationship with the PE situation, provides a further vital justification for stating the facts in just this way: here general linguistics and (in a small way) the history of English enable us to feel fairly confident that the facts and their interpretation are as suggested. It is otherwise possible that we should prefer a variable rule based on the phonology of the (preceding and) following segment (as suggested for Montreal QUE by Cedergren and Sankoff 1974, and see references there). The following segments for \bar{P} AT-DELETION are naturally somewhat restricted: there is a sharp predominance of $[\theta/\ð, h]$ and vowel. But although it may seem likely that low stress, and the desire to avoid a sequence of dentals may have been contributory factors in controlling \bar{P} AT-DELETION, there is no attractive phonological generalization and explanation to place beside the syntactic one. The core of what is involved in \bar{P} AT-DELETION is apparently syntactic and perceptual.

Comparison with PE is of some interest here. It seems from McDavid (1964) that the deletion of THAT before pronouns in PE is much more common than for WSeE \bar{P} AT; this may be because in LME the

higher incidence of TOPICALIZATION and SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION, and the existence of impersonals, meant that a pronoun (even a nominative pronoun) was of much less value as a clause boundary marker. This tends to support the interpretation given above: we can see THAT/~~PAT~~-DELETION at two stages of English as being governed by similar considerations, but differing in incidence because of the altered distribution and function of pronouns.

Now to the comparison on which the foregoing remarks were partly based. In discussing her Table 4, "Clause with Single-Object Verbs" McDavid (1964) remarks: "There was a greater tendency to omit that when the clause began with a personal pronoun. Of the 35 examples of omitted that, 21 (60 per cent) began in this way. Of the 214 examples with that 53 (15 per cent) began with a personal pronoun. Perhaps the clarity with which a pronoun marks the beginning of the dependent clause makes the inclusion of that less necessary, ..." (p 108).* I have produced figures from the sermon corpus to parallel McDavid's, using only 'clauses with single-object verbs' in a manner as close to hers as I can. My figures are for pronominals (not pronouns), but in fact nearly all are personal pronouns, and a comparison with McDavid's figures (based on the unexplicated term 'pronoun') is reasonable. Then, the number of sentences occurring with initial pronoun/pronominal which are unintroduced is, for McDavid's PE corpus: $21/74 = 28\%$; for WSerE: $14/188 = 7.4\%$; or if we include 'comment clauses', and those unintroduced clauses which may well be indirect, $31/206 = 15.0\%$.**

* Alas, 53 is not 15% of 214, but 20%. 33, which is 15%, provides a more plausible misprint, however.

** Possibly McDavid's PE corpus had $21/54 = 39\%$, reading 33. See previous note. The figure for WSerE is higher than the 6% quoted previously because of the restriction to verbs with 'single object'.

Huddleston (1971) is not helpful here, because he only supplies a figure (for some unIntroduced clauses) telling us how many had a pronoun initial: $10/14 = 71\%$ (p 178). This compares with McDavid's 60% and with 66% for WSerE. But the sermon corpus has a much higher proportion of clause initial pronouns than does McDavid's corpus, so this comparison is misleading, and it is that given above which is reliable.

The situation in PE before sentential conjunctions is not clear. McDavid (op cit p 109) remarks that THAT "is likely to be included when there is some modifier of the verb ... or of the that clause itself ... Thus, we find ... 'Nothing could more clearly prove that when the fact is dissociated from the feel of a fact, disaster results'," but she does not specifically investigate the incidence of ZERO before a conjunction. Since in the sermon corpus this is low in absolute terms, though proportionately high, this may not tell us that in PE such deletions are avoided. However, her corpus of non-fiction was chosen to represent carefully produced material; "The principle of selection was simple - to take only samples of well-edited written English" (op cit p 103), and such material may be expected to foreground the function of THAT to reduce ambiguity, which will tend to occur when a subordinate clause may be interpreted as belonging either to the matrix or to the subordinate sentence. It may be, then, that THAT-DELETION in carefully edited PE prose is not frequent before conjunctions, and that WSerE is perhaps less careful to avoid structural ambiguity than such modern prose. But the general absence of comment on the occurrence of THAT-DELETION before CONJUNCTION in PE need not

mean that the interpretation of the rule's function which I have given above for WSerE is really any less plausible.

3.2.6 Conclusion.

The deletion of $\bar{P}AT$ in complement $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses when not headed by a noun phrase seems to vary largely in accordance with syntactic factors in WSerE. We cannot give a very precise indication of its incidence because of the occurrence of examples which may contain direct speech, or which may show a 'downgraded' matrix verb functioning 'parenthetically' as a 'comment clause'. But if we carefully isolate such cases as a separate group, we can say that $\bar{P}AT$ -DELETION certainly occurs in 4% of $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses, may occur in as many as 9% and that these values for the incidence of ZERO are comparable with values for deletion found today. An examination of the clear cases shows us that the factors which control $\bar{P}AT$ -DELETION are the removal of the clause subject, the lexical identity of the matrix verb, the presence of elements between verb and clause, and the nature of the clause-initial elements where conjunctions, and to a lesser extent pronouns, favour deletion. The reasonableness of this interpretation is shown by the possibility of incorporating some of this variation into a variable rule. This is not merely an alternative method of presenting data: to the extent that it shows that the interpretation is natural, it provides an important check on the kinds of statement we can make in ME grammar, and enhances the plausibility of this particular set of statements over (say) a purely phonological rule of deletion. Further support for the syntactic nature of this deletion comes from a functional interpretation of the preferred contexts for deletion: deletion before

conjunctions avoids double embedding structures, and deletion before pronouns and conjunctions may be because both function as clause boundary markers. This seems doubly plausible when we realize that in PE pronouns are much more satisfactory clause boundary markers than in ME, and the incidence of THAT-DELETION before pronouns in the PE texts investigated by McDavid (1964) was several times that of WSerE. Thus we may speculate that the detailed difference in incidence of deletion between these PE texts and the sermon corpus is ultimately a result of the different marking potential of pronouns.

3.3 WH Complements

3.3.0 Here the most important type of subordinate clause is the indirect question, introduced by a WH-word as head (1) or as modifier (2), sometimes with *PAT* after the WH-phrase.

- (1) i.32.2 'But þis lawier wolde justifie himsilf, and
þerfore he axide, who was his neigbore.'
Luke 10.29 Ille autem volens justificare seipsum,
dixit ad Jesum: et quis est meus proximus?
- (2) i.22.14 And 'he gaderide togidere alle þe dettours
of his lord; and axide þe first how myche he ou3t
his lord; ...'
Luke 16.5 dicebat primo: Quantum debes domino meo?

Besides such clauses in PE we find three other types of subordinate WH-clause which are syntactically or semantically distinct, though the distinctions between these types and indirect questions are often neutralized, and it may be that we have to do not with clause types that are always theoretically distinguishable but with clines between such clauses and indirect questions. The three other types are indirect exclamation (3), independent (or compound) relative (4), and colloquial HOW = THAT (5).

- (3) John said what a magnificent time they all had.
- (4) I don't like what he wants.
- (5) Then Mary said how she was sick and tired of scones.

The last type, HOW = THAT, is OED How, adv. 10. 'With weakened meaning, introducing an indirect statement, after verbs of saying, perceiving and the like: = That.' For a discussion of the syntactic and semantic distinctions between subordinate questions, exclamations and relatives, see Huddleston (1971 pp 35 et seq, 46 et seq, 233 et seq, 241 et seq); note particularly that his characterization of 'indirect interrogatives' (both structurally, and as involving the resolution of a disjunction or of indefiniteness) leads to a much wider class of indirect questions than was admitted by Curme, and it is Huddleston's characterization that I follow (Huddleston 1971 p 35 et seq, especially p 39).

These subordinate clause types seem to occur in WSerE as in PE, and they pose something of a problem for a discussion of indirect questions. OED What, pron. (etc) AI** notes that variation in interrogative force can lead to instances of WHAT after verbs of knowing and saying which 'approach' the compound relative, and there are also difficulties of interpretation like that shown by (6), which can be taken in at least the three ways (7)-(9).

- (6) i.203.7 and he disseyveþ not men in multitude of coventis, but lokiþ how fewe prestis moun profite to Cristis Chirche, and how he mai holde þe office þat Crist haþ bedun in his lawe; ...
- (7) Indirect question; how modifies fewe. 'he looks to see how few priests are capable of doing good to Christ's church.'
- (8) Indirect exclamation; how modifies fewe. 'he considers how few are the priests who are capable of doing good to Christ's church.'

- (9) HOW with weakened force; how does not modify fewe.
 'he considers (how it is) that few priests are
 capable of doing good to Christ's church.'

I have taken all instances of subordinate WH-clauses to be indirect questions unless they seemed clearly to be exclamations or independent relatives. A syntactic distinction between HOW = $\dot{P}AT$ and the HOW of indirect questions cannot be demonstrated, so this clause type is best treated under the head of indirect questions. But it seems most useful to deal with exclamations and independent relatives as types separate from indirect questions in LME though I have not investigated this point specifically for WSerE.

In what follows, then, I deal briefly with indirect exclamations in §3.3.1, and independent relatives in §3.3.2, then in more detail with HOW = $\dot{P}AT$ in §3.3.3 before considering indirect questions in §3.3.4 and the occurrence of $\dot{P}AT$ in WH-phrases in §3.3.5.

3.3.1 Indirect exclamations.

There are several semantically clear examples of indirect exclamations where SEE precedes HOW.

- (10) i.17.8 By þis lore may we see how ferre it is fro
 scole of Crist for to chide or to plede or to
 figt as men now done.
- (11) ii.233.2 we mai se bi ferþer ensaumplis, how wilfulli
 and joifulli man traveilip for a worldli cause, as
 ben worldli victory, worldli richessis, or fleishli
 lust.
 (cf the direct exclamations which parallel this at
 ii.232.26 et seq)

Here there is no neutralization of antonymy relations as in indirect questions (Huddleston 1971 p 48). Further examples of indirect exclamations are found at i.31.12, i.180.10. Both involve SEE plus HOW as modifier, as do (10) and (11). These are the only clear exclamations

in the corpus, though a possible example with WHAT as modifier is found at i.24.31; in §3.3.4 this is treated as indirect question. Presumably we must add an exclamative complementizer to our grammar of WSerE as to that of PE.

3.3.2 Independent relatives.

There are few instances of clear independent WH-relatives in positions where an indirect question may also occur; see i.31.6,9 with HEERE, and (12) which might perhaps be taken as an indirect question, but has not been treated as one below. There are of course examples after verbs such as TELLE where the distinction is neutralized, but which have been dealt with as indirect questions.

- (12) i.203.17 but loke who hap power to robbe mennis
goodis, and 3it he spareþ upon resoun [sic MS],
for þe love of God, and þat man hungriþ as Crist
spekiþ here.
'but consider anyone who has the power to rob
men, and yet is moderate and does not do so for
the love of God ...,' and note OED Look, v. 4.b.
for the development loke who 'whoever'.

We might also regard instances with HOW as related to headless relatives. Since WSerE has HOW as a relative after FOORME and WEIE, (in i.177.20, ii.226.23 and i.358.20), and since there is an unambiguous example of HOW S as a headless definite relative in MED hōu conjunctive adv. 1a.(a):

- (?1436) Siege Calais 124: It was a sportfull sight, How
his dartes he did shake.

we must reckon with the possibility in such instances as these in WSerE:

- (13) ii.238.5 Studie we how Crist cam in ful tyme whanne
he shulde, and how he cam in mekenesse, as his
birþe techiþ us; and how he cam in pacience, fro
his birþe to his dep.

- (14) i.35.20 We shulden ... þenke how Crist bad þe
woman go and wille no more do synne.

and, with ¹PENKE, possibly i.15.25, i.172.29; also with ¹PENKE ON:

- (15) i.173.4 And þus if þou woldist þenke on Crist,
how he suffride for love of man, it were þe beste
ensample þat þou shuldist have to suffre, and to
cese þi grutchung; ...

In none of these is there any serious question of 'resolving the indeterminacy' (to use Huddleston's characterization of indirect questions), but by itself this does not mean that syntactically these instances should not be regarded as indirect questions, or simply as neutralizing the distinction, and this group of examples is treated below as indirect question. There is also the possibility that HOW = ¹PAT may be involved here; HOW is particularly prone to occur in examples which neutralize the distinctions that can be set up on the basis of clear instances.

3.3.3 HOW = ¹PAT.

The occurrence of HOW = ¹PAT is frequent, and there are many clear examples:

- (16) ii.69.18 Luk seiþ þat Crist tolde how, 'A man hadde
two sones; and þe 3onger of hem seide unto his
fadir, ...'
(plus 38 lines of translation from the gospel text.)
Luke 15.11 Ait autem: Homo quidam habuit duos
filios: ...
- (17) ii.63.18 Crist telliþ hem how, 'þei wenden wilfulli
to Jerusalem, and manniss sone shal be traied to
princis of preestis, ...'
(plus 22 lines of translation from the gospel text.)
Matt 20.17 et ait illis: Ecce ascendimus Jerosolymam, ...

This use is found already in OE, cf Bosworth and Toller hu; adv. III:

We gehirdon hu ge ofslogon twegen cynegas Seon and Og
audivimus quod interfecistis Sehon et Og, Joshua 2.10

I shall argue, however, that this equivalence is not straightforward, but that HOW indeed represents a weakened indirect question with the

potential semantic implication that what it introduces is the summary or interpretation of some statement, or is a narrative, so that the clause is a report of the message conveyed and not of any actual words used. Thus HOW is always potentially distinct from $\bar{P}AT$, and it has a different distribution; it is only equivalent to $\bar{P}AT$ in restricted contexts. It does not, however, seem to represent a distinct complementizer, but to be distributed only after verbs which would permit the appropriate weakening of its indirect question function. The evidence for this depends very largely upon instances with the verbs SEIE, TECHE, TELLE and upon the different distributions of HOW as a weakened question and $\bar{P}AT$ in the sermons. The evidence seems clear, but it is very limited: hence the interpretation placed upon it must be cautious.

In examples with TELLE like (18)-(22), we might regard HOW as bearing a weakened sense: 'By what means, ... by what course of action or sequence of events' ... (MED $\check{h}\ddot{o}u$ conjunctive adv. 1b.). Yet it does not seem appropriate to categorize such instances as types of indirect question at all from a semantic point of view: there is no 'resolution of indeterminacy'. In context HOW seems (at first sight) to be merely equivalent to $\bar{P}AT$.

- (18) i.22.1 \bar{P} is gospel tellip how men shulde make hem
frendis of worldely goodis, for reward $\bar{p}at$ $\bar{p}ei$
shulden have aftir in hevene.
(the parable concerned is of the unjust steward:
Luke 16.1-8)
- (19) ii.66.17 \bar{P} is gospel tellip a parable how Crist shulde
be slayn wip $\bar{p}e$ Jewis.
(the parable is of the husbandmen in charge of their
lord's vineyard who maltreat and murder first his
servants, then his son: Matt 21.33-46)

- (20) i.7.1 In þis gospel telliþ Crist two parablis of
comfort, how his peple shal be saved alȝif preestis
grutchen þere aȝen, ...
(the parables are the lost sheep and the widow's mite:
Luke 15.1 et seq)
- (21) i.185.28 Þe gospel telliþ how lasse disciplis, þat
weren two and seventy, comen aȝen to Crist wiþ joie,
and seiden, as þe gospel telliþ after, ...
(Luke 10.16-20)
- (22) ii.53.15 Þis gospel telliþ how þat Crist heendly
reprovede Jewis, and tolde hem þer wickide wille,
to make hem to sorowe for þer synne.
(John 8.31-47)

But in these cases the HOW-clause in effect gives us the meaning or interpretation of the Vulgate text in the first three examples, or a summary account of its contents in the last two. What is interesting is that with sentences which introduce Vulgate-related material after TELLE, HOW and ÞAT have very different distributions in the corpus. If we take HOW- and ÞAT-clauses after TELLE where the Vulgate is being rendered or reported, and ask whether what follows the conjunction is a verbatim rendering as in (16) and (17), or is intended as a summary or interpretation, we find the following:

	HOW	ÞAT
Verbatim rendering	12	11
Interpretation or Summary	23	2

(Instances of HOW which are better taken as straightforward indirect questions are not included.)

There is a striking disproportion here between the incidence of HOW and ÞAT, which is related to the function of TELLE + HOW = ÞAT within the sermon text. It often occurs at the beginning of a sermon to

announce the main burden of what is to follow: 21 of the 23 'summary or interpretation' HOW are of this type, while both of the examples with PAT (i.3.21, ii.57.8) occur later in the text and deal with more specific points of interpretation. Despite the specific and context bound nature of this evidence, there is here the implication that in the broad spectrum of semantic values covered by HOW, ranging from PAT to indirect question, there is an area which is readily interpretable neither fully satisfactorily as PAT, nor as indirect question, but which is appropriately used when the clause contains an interpretation or summary of some statement. Moreover, its distribution tends to show that it was contrastively used in this function, at least to some extent. We might compare the implication of the PE difference between (23) and (24):

(23) Paul told me that he was in love with Mary.

(24) Paul told me how he was in love with Mary.

In the second case, the speaker can hardly be reporting Paul's use of just the words I am in love with Mary, as he can in the first: some further content to Paul's statement is suggested, and the speaker merely reports the gist of it. In cases like the following, too, it seems that the subject matter or essential content is being reported, or that an interpretation is being made:

(25) ii.74.16 Luk tellip how pei calengiden Crist to do
myraclis in his contre, sip he wrou3te miraclis
in Capharnaum, pat was fer fro Bedleem.

- (26) i.184.27 þerfore tellip Crist of his glorifiyng, how he shal shewe him here glorious in his bodi, so þat bi þis shewyng here in þis lyf, þei [sc. his apostles] ben more stablid in þis to trowe in Crist. cf i.184.31 'Y seie to 3ou, þere be sum of men þat stonden here, þat shulen not taaste dep, til þei seen me comyng in my rewme' in blis of my bodi.
- (27) ii.89.13 For dowve bitokenep þe Holi Goost, and tellip how prestis shulden worche freely.
- (28) ii.85.28 And so þis speche wip þis womman was not maad of wantonnes, but for to figure to þe apostlis how þei shulden preche to heþene folk.
- (29) ii.223.4 ... Moises in boke of Genesis was moved bi God to seie þus, þat even and morewen was maad o day; and bi þis ordre of þes wordis God techip how synne wente bifore.
- (30) i.161.15 Here mut we knowe þe storye of þe olde lawe hou þe puple was hirt by stynging of adres, ...

Indeed it seems that HOW can be appropriately used with the 'sentence' of what has been said. Note the following from the explanation to an early fifteenth century concordance:

Wher a chapiter spekip miche of a mater, þanne is sumtyme shortly quotyd þe sentence & not þe wordis. As in þis word bischop is quotyd how, þe firste pistle to Tymothe þe bridde c^o, & Titum þe firste c^o, ben specified þe condiciouns of a bischop.

(B. Lib. MS Royal 17.B.1 quoted in McIntosh 1965)

Clearly, what is quoted is the 'sentence': 'The thought or meaning expressed, as distinguished from the wording; the sense, substance or gist (of a passage, a book, etc)' (OED Sentence, sb. 7.) and this, or a related notion of the expression of essential subject matter may be appealed to in those cases where HOW does not seem to be a mere equivalent to PAT. There are also interesting examples with a clause dependent upon an indefinite noun phrase, in which the clause supplies not an account of the direct content of the noun phrase, but instead an interpretation of it: see (19) above, and (31):

- (31) ii.189.26 þis gospel tellip a parable, how men
shulden fle averice, and specialli preestis of
Crist.

But to what extent does HOW function as a 'mere' equivalent to þAT, as the gloss given by OED How, adv. 10 (cited §3.3.0) at first sight implies? In ME more generally the equivalence exists: note in particular the apparently performative example of MED hōu conjunctive adv. 4.(c):

- (a1450) York Plays 197/132: And to ȝou saie I more,
How þat Lazar oure frende
Slepes nowē, and I therfore
With ȝou to hym will wende.

But with TELLE, HOW = þAT + Vulgate rendering occurs with as subject a noun phrase like Matheu, þe story of þis Gospel, þe parable, and after it a portion of narrative (often extended) in 10 out of 12 corpus instances. In the two exceptions Crist occurs as subject, introducing a lengthy narrative on each occasion (see (16) and (17)). What is missing is an example like (32) with a human subject (not an evangelist), and a clause which is not (part of) a report of some real or fictitious series of historical events:

- (32) i.171.11 and þus tellip Crist to his apostlis, 'þat
what evere þei axen his Fadir in his name, he shal
ȝyve to hem', for þe love of him.
John 15.16 ut quodcumque petieritis Patrem in
nomino meo, det vobis.

The examples most like this are (33) and ii.60.17, ii.63.14. But even here the clause contains a part of a wider narrative.

- (33) ii.51.3 Matheu tellip how, 'Þe Scribis and Phariseis
camen nyȝ to Jesus, and seiden, Maister, we wolen
see a signe of þee.'
Matt 12.38 Tunc responderunt ei quidam de Scribis
et Phariseis, dicentes: Magister, volumus a te
signum videre.

Both the subject and clause content, then, suggest that HOW may not be a straightforward equivalent of $\dot{P}AT$, but may be used to head a narrative or account: perhaps a text regarded as having an internal structuring beyond that of the actual words, so that the total usage of HOW with TELLE could be said to be that it characterized what followed it as more remote from any actual words used than did $\dot{P}AT$, whether by virtue of the fact that the same story can be told in different words, or because the essential gist of what was said is being reported.

So far this is all very well, but it depends on a very restricted range of data. Is there any evidence of a more general contrast between HOW and $\dot{P}AT$? There is a little with SEIE, and TECHE; but the amount of data with other verbs (only one or two instances each) is small, and SEIE, TELLE, TECHE are the only verbs which are frequently used to report what is said in the Vulgate, so that only here we can discriminate different types of HOW-clause with some confidence.

With SEIE and TECHE, the distribution of HOW largely mirrors that of TELLE. The subject of the verb is þe gospel, Joon etc and the HOW-clause is (part of) a narrative, or is a summary or interpretation:

(34) i.197.27 Þe gospel seiþ how, 'Jesus wente aboute in þe cuntre,' boþ to more places and lesse, 'as citees and castellis,' to techen us to profete generali to men, ...

(35) i.176.27 Also Poul, Cristis apostle, techiþ in bokes of oure bileve, how God wolde þat he prechide to þe peple wiþouten sich axing; ...
(reference to Gal 1.16-19, 2.6-8)

But there may be an exception to this generalization in (36) if HOW is indeed to be taken as HOW = $\dot{P}AT$ here:

- (36) i.30.31 and Crist putt his fyngirs in eres of
 þis dombe man, whan he appliede his virtue,
 sutili worchinge, for to teche man how he wente
 fro God, ...

The occurrence of HOW with other verbs is consistent with the account given above, largely because the distinction between the areas of meaning posited for HOW and PAT is neutralized in context; examples of PENKE + HOW (quoted above) may support the notion 'summary'. But there are also two more difficult examples with HAVE MYNDE, WRITE:

- (37) i.2.21 'And Abraham seide to þe riche man,'
 dampnyd, 'Sone, have mynde how þou haddist lust
 in þis [sic MS] lyfe, and Lazar peyne, and þerefore,'
 bi riȝt [sic MS] jugement of God, 'he is now confortid
 and þou art now turmentid;' ...
 Luke 16.25 Et dixit illi Abraham: Fili, recordare
 quia recepisti bona in vita tua, et Lazarus similiter
 mala: nunc autem hic consolatur, tu vero cruciaris.
- (38) ii.251.8 'For it is writun' in Goddis lawe, how 'God
 seiþ, Y have reserved veniaunce to me, and I shal
 gelde it,' for it falliþ to my mageste, and Y mut
 do it wiþouten defaute.
 Romans 12.19 Scriptum est enim: Mihi vindicta: ego
 retribuam, dicit Dominus.

However, neither of these is necessarily a direct counterexample to an account of HOW which generalizes straightforwardly from its occurrence with TELLE.

If HOW can be said to occur with a rather distinctive force, in an indirect clause type which has no corresponding direct question, should we go so far as to call it a separate complementizer? We might speculatively note that if Menzel (1975) is correct in supposing that the semantics of complementizers reflects that of specific lexical items, then we might propose a complementizer HOW = 'sentence'. Besides OED Sentence, sb. 7, 'The thought or meaning expressed, as distinguished from the wording; the sense, substance, or gist (of a passage, a book etc)' we find OED 5, 'An indefinite portion of a

discourse or writing; ...' (for the 'narrative' sense), and possibly OED 4. 'A quoted saying of some eminent person, an apophthegm.' for (38). The ME senses have generally to do with content (versus words), or with the notion 'stretch of text', except for the sense of judicial sentence (OED 3).

Distributional evidence however would hardly support this. HOW (as 'interpretation' or = *ȝ*PAT) occurs with:

(a) Verbs of informing: SEIE, SPEKE, TECHE, TELLE, WARNE, WRITE.

(b) Verbs of knowing, perceiving and considering: KNOWE, MARKE, HAVE MYNDE, SEE, *ȝ*PENKE, WITE.

(c) Verbs of interpretation: BITOKENE, FIGURE.

This is a subset of those verbs which occur with both *ȝ*PAT-clause and indirect question (with the exception of SPEKE, for which see below). We do not find HOW except where it would occur as a weakened question marker; and we do not find it with verbs such as DOUTE, AXE where the occurrence of a weakened question marker would seem implausible. Clauses introduced by weakened HOW are also like other WH-clauses, and unlike *ȝ*PAT-clauses, in that they are not found with the internal reorderings discussed in §5.1.4. The only sign of a distribution for HOW independent of that of the WH complementizer is in (39), since evidence that SPEKE may occur with an indirect question is very poor.

- (39) i.180.5 But in þe þridde word of þis gospel spekip
Crist more speciali, how þes wordis longen to him,
as to ground of good religioun.

It is, then, only from the force with which HOW is used that we might justify an account of it as an independent complementizer; and even here, in its opposition to \dot{P} AT, an account of it as contextually weakened indirect question might be preferred. HOW seems to have a particular area of meaning not shared by other WH-words, but syntactic evidence that it is independent of indirect questions is not found.

For WSerE we may provide the following account of HOW-clauses where they are not very satisfactorily treated as indirect questions, from a semantic point of view. The account is based on such data as is available, but since that is rather specialized and restricted, the account must remain a rather cautious one. HOW occurs in a syntactic indirect question with a special area of 'weakened' meaning with verbs which are prone to reduce the distinctive force of indirect questions and which also occur with \dot{P} AT-clauses. The implication of HOW in these clauses is that a summary or interpretation of a statement is being provided, or that a narrative is being introduced: the clause is distanced from any actual words employed in making the statement it reports. Thus there is no evidence that a grammatical account need specify a HOW which is truly equivalent to \dot{P} AT in WSerE except contextually; and indeed, many of the instances of HOW which seem contextually equivalent to PE THAT nevertheless may have carried some implication of contrast with \dot{P} AT as indicated above, and as may be found to some extent in PE.

3.3.4 Indirect questions.

Under this heading are included all indirect WH complement clauses which are not pretty clearly exclamations or independent relatives.

Instances of weakened HOW are included, but not further discussed after the treatment of §3.3.3. In distinguishing between indirect clause and direct speech I have used two criteria to supplement those of §3.1.2: that cases undecided by those criteria are indirect if they occur after a verb not otherwise evidenced with direct speech, or if they show failure of subject-verb inversion after a non-subject WH-phrase. This second criterion is not firm; cf the discussion of §3.1.4.2. But it seems to hold in general.

Indirect questions occur with the WH-phrase initial, and optionally followed by PAT. In the corpus the verb is always finite and it may be either indicative or subjunctive: the variation is discussed in §3.4. Indirect questions occur as sentential subjects (eg ii.53.6 and possibly (40)), in apposition to NP (eg i.23.15) or as object to verbs and adjectives, listed in §5.2.1.

WH-words found in indirect questions (including conjoined and appositive indirect question clauses). Note the very high incidence of HOW, over 65%.

WHE ¹ PIR	(<u>wher</u> , <u>where</u> , <u>whe¹pir</u>) 'whether' 13.
WHO	<u>who</u> 3, <u>whos</u> 1, <u>whos</u> as modifier 1.
WHAT	24, plus 21 as modifier.
WHICH	4, plus 3 as modifier.
HOW	153 (including up to 70 weakened HOW), plus 12 as modifier.
WHANNE	3
WHI	2
WHERE	'where' ?1 (i.168.28: possibly 'whether' or direct speech)
IF	1 (?2)

There are also four examples (WHE¹PIR 3, WHANNE 1) followed by PP only, or by nothing. IF occurs only marginally. It is found in (41) in a

conjoined indirect question after MUSE, but otherwise only very doubtfully in (40) in construction with no wonder (so also i.380.20): but this is hardly an indirect question. The clause, if not conditional, is rather one of statement.

- (40) i.173.14 And þus it is no kynne wonder if lymes
of þe fend haten lymes of Crist, ...
- (41) ii.52.25 Muse we not here whi Jonas was even so
myche tyme in þe wombe of þe whal, as Crist was
in þe sepulcre, or if he wente in þe same our,
and cam out þe same oure.

A preposition is in 7 examples 'pied-piped' along with its WH-phrase to clause-initial position, (cf (47), (50)), and is once left stranded, in (42). A short but representative selection of question examples follows.

- (42) i.37.20 'we shulde not be bisye to oure lyf what
we shulden ete, ne to oure bodi what we shulde
be clopid wiþ; ...'
Matt 6.25 ne solliciti sitis animae vestrae quid
manducetis, neque corpori vestro quid induamini.
- (43) ii.242.25 And muse we not whan þis sterre apperide
first in þe eest, and how longe tyme þese þre
kyngis weren in comynge to Bethleem.
- (44) ii.55.32 And muse we not what feeste þis was;
wheþir it was Pask or oþer feste.
- (45) i.17.27 'And Crist axide hem, how many loves þat
þei hadden, and þei seiden seven.'
Mark 8.5 Et interrogavit eos: Quot panes habetis?
- (46) i.32.17 And whan Crist hadde seide þis parable,
he axide of þis man of lawe, 'which of þese
þree men semede him to be neigbore unto þis
syke man ...'
Luke 10.36 Quis horum trium videtur tibi proximus
fuisse ille ...?
- (47) ii.243.14 And so men douten here ofte of what
contre þes þree kynges weren; ...
- (48) ii.87.25 But on þis men douten ofte how þat þes
shriftes camen in.

- (49) ii.80.9 in chesing and lyvyng aftir, and algatis
in ende of þer lyvyng, þei tellen whos knyȝtis þei
ben, and how þei ben ful turned fro God.
- (50) ii.52.3 but Crist tolde in what signe shulde be
shewid his meknesse.
- (51) ii.231.8 And siþ popis and cardinalis witen not
wher þis man be able to be prelat of Cristis
Chirche, þei taken ofte fole jugementis, ...

Although the word order of indirect questions is generally that of statement with the WH-phrase preposed, without the inversion of subject and verb after a non-subject WH-phrase which is typical of direct speech, there are cases of such inversion in indirect clauses. In §3.1.4.2 it was suggested that some instances might show a category intermediate between direct speech and indirect clause. But for other instances of inversion, such as (50), (other egs are typically found with BE) this explanation seems less satisfactory, and in §5.1.4 I suggest that the order WH-phrase - verbal group - NP is available as an alternative to WH-phrase - NP - verbal group in certain specific circumstances, and that a reordering within the indirect clause on grounds of 'weight' is involved. Hence there is no need to suggest a more extensive category of 'indirect speech', though with certain particular examples this is possible.

3.3.5 \bar{P} AT with WH-complements.

The incidence of \bar{P} AT after indirect question WH-phrases is strikingly restricted in occurrence, and is, perhaps partly in consequence, much lower than that found in Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales. Most of the corpus instances are found early in a sermon, in the collocation TELLE ... HOW \bar{P} AT. There are only 14 instances of

indirect question WH ... $\bar{P}AT$ in the corpus* out of 241 indirect question clauses (and none with exclamations). This frequency of 1:17 compares with 1:4 for the prose of The Canterbury Tales (28 in 116, and nearer 1:3 for the verse; see the figures given by Kivimaa 1966 pp 28-9).

In $\bar{P}AT$ -complement clauses the major factors controlling the presence and absence of $\bar{P}AT$ proved to be: (a) the identity of the matrix verb, (b) the nature of the element opening the clause, (c) the presence of elements intervening between matrix verb and clause (see §3.2.3). In indirect questions the only one of these factors which seems to have any potential importance is the identity of the matrix verb, and I shall argue below that the factors controlling the presence or absence of $\bar{P}AT$ in indirect questions are quite different from those in $\bar{P}AT$ -complement clauses, and depend rather on discourse structuring and blending pressure.

If we compare figures for the presence and absence of $\bar{P}AT$ when the subordinate clause opens with various elements, or when various elements intervene between matrix verb and clause, we find no evidence of a correlation.

Incidence of clause-opening elements with WH($\bar{P}AT$)

	WH ... $\bar{P}AT$	WH ... ZERO
Initial 'NOUN(PHRASE)'	8	107
Initial PRONOMINAL	6	98

Here only clauses that do not follow the WH-phrase with a verb or adverb are dealt with, and the terms PRONOMINAL, 'NOUN(PHRASE)' are

* AXE i.17.28; DOUTE ii.87.25; TECHE ii.260.26; TELLE i.27.1, 166.24, ii.53.15, 57.31, 63.13, 63.14, 86.17, 221.9, 244.16, 257.36; In apposition ii.235.26.

used as in §3.2.3.3. There is clearly no evidence of any correlation.

Elements intervening between TELLE and indirect question clause

	WH ... $\bar{P}AT$	WH ... ZERO
Intervening element	3	24
No intervening element	6	35

I omit clauses in apposition and conjoined clauses in this table. There is no evidence of any correlation here, or when the test is applied to all verbs with indirect question objects.

However, of the 14 WH ... $\bar{P}AT$ clauses, 10 occur with TELLE, so that identity of matrix verb does seem potentially important. If we plot TELLE against other verbs and adjectives (including conjoined examples and appositional instances in construction with complement expressions) we find:

Incidence of TELLE and other expressions with WH($\bar{P}AT$)

	WH ... $\bar{P}AT$	WH ... ZERO	
TELLE	10	73	83
Other expressions	3	148	151
	13	221	234

$$\chi^2 = 10.3, df = 1, p < .002$$

But the difficulty here is that the distribution of $\bar{P}AT$ may be interpreted as correlating with 3 separate factors. One is the presence of TELLE. But there is also a correlation with HOW as the particular WH-form involved, particularly weakened HOW = $\bar{P}AT$ /narrative/summary.* Of the 14 examples of WH ... $\bar{P}AT$ found altogether,

* The figures for interrogative clauses in Chaucer with and without appended $\bar{P}AT$ given in Kivimaa (1966) (see especially pp 28, 29) show that of instances for which there is a reasonable number of examples, it is HOW which occurs proportionately most frequently with appended $\bar{P}AT$; indeed in nearly 50% of cases in The Canterbury Tales. See, too, OED How, adv. 10. 'With weakened meaning, ... = That' which remarks 'Formerly freq. how that'.

as many as 12 are HOW PAT (and one of the other instances contains HOW as modifier). If we consider the contingency table for HOW as head of its phrase plus PAT, versus other WH-words, the result is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 4.1$). But for just weakened HOW the level of significance is considerably higher, as we see in this table.

Incidence of PAT with weakened HOW and other WH

	WH ... PAT	WH ... ZERO	
Weakened HOW	8	62	70
Other indirect questions	6	165	171
	14	227	241

$$\chi^2 = 5.69, df = 1, p < 0.025$$

The final correlation is between the incidence of PAT and position early in a sermon, since HOW PAT is commonly part of the 'introduction' to a sermon. I have counted the incidence of WH and WH ... PAT in the first two orthographic sentences of Arnold's edition in each sermon for the purposes of this next comparison:

Position of WH(PAT) within each sermon

	WH ... ZERO	WH ... PAT	
In first 2 sentences	55	9	64
Later than first 2 sentences	172	5	177
	227	14	241

$$\text{Here } \chi^2 = 10.85, df = 1 \text{ and } p < 0.001$$

The result is rather striking. It would have been even more so had the instance of HOW PAT at ii.221.9 which occurs after a short paragraph introducing the series of Epistle sermons been taken as

occurring 'early in a sermon'. It clearly does, though not according to the criterion here adopted; we might, however, venture to say that there is a striking correlation between WH ... $\bar{P}AT$ and the 'introduction' to a sermon. This points to an explanation in terms of discourse requirements, say that HOW $\bar{P}AT$ was more emphatic or formal than HOW, and that the structure of a sermon is such that the marked form will tend to occur at the beginning (perhaps even as a feature of the copying scribe's renewed attack on a fresh passage).

Where does this leave us? These three correlations are not independent, and in principle we might prefer an explanation which predicted any single one, or any mix of the three. But, on more general grounds, the least satisfactory strand of explanation would impute control of $\bar{P}AT$ to TELLE, since with $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses TELLE is not especially prone to retain $\bar{P}AT$, but we might have expected to be able to make such a generalization. The most plausible explanation of the occurrence of $\bar{P}AT$ with indirect questions, therefore, has two prongs. Firstly, $\bar{P}AT$ is especially favoured with the HOW of reduced force which nearly approaches $\bar{P}AT$ in meaning (and this favouring might indeed show the operation of blending pressures in usage). Secondly, the marked variant with $\bar{P}AT$ (perhaps strictly HOW $\bar{P}AT$) is favoured in the introduction to a sermon, because of some tie-up between the structure of sermons (as such, or as passages of writing) and the marked (and perhaps emphatic or formal) variant HOW $\bar{P}AT$.

An examination of the figures supplied by Kivimaa (1966)* for Chaucer raises the question whether there might be a correlation between the occurrence of $\bar{P}AT$ and the presence/absence of a

lexical item within the WH-phrase, as in what ende þat i.166.24, how many loves þat i.17.28. These are the only two corpus examples with ÞAT out of 37 instances of WH as modifier, however, and this is consistent with the general proportion of 1 in 17. So no correlation is demonstrated.

Perhaps the most interesting result of this enquiry, however, is that it seems as if the occurrence and absence of ÞAT with ÞAT-clauses is controlled by quite different factors than in indirect questions (maybe relatives are distinct again: see note). In ÞAT-clauses it can be seen as essentially a reflex of clause boundary marking, under the control of functional factors. In indirect

* (from previous page) From the figures given pp 28-9 of Kivimaa 1966 it seems that for Chaucer there is a highly significant tendency to avoid ÞAT after a WH-phrase where material intervenes between WH and ÞAT in relative clauses, but that there is no evidence of a tendency either to avoid or prefer ÞAT in interrogative clauses in such circumstances.

In The Canterbury Tales:

<u>Relative clauses</u>	without ÞAT	with ÞAT	
WH-word	445	199	644
WH-phrase	202	18	220
	647	217	864

$\chi^2 = 45.00$, $df = 1$, p is infinitesimal

<u>Interrogative clauses</u>	without ÞAT	with ÞAT	
WH-word	310	124	434
WH-phrase	70	34	104
	380	158	538

$\chi^2 = 0.69$, $df = 1$, $p < .5$

Here prose and verse are taken together, and the elements as, so, fore (in wherfore) have been counted as 'intervening material'. But parallel results are obtained if prose and verse are taken separately, and if only major parts of speech are counted as 'intervening material'.

questions, however, the most plausible interpretation makes reference to discourse factors and blending pressures: ie the explanation of the presence and absence of $\bar{P}AT$ is rather clearly dependent on syntactic factors with $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses, and rather clearly independent of them in indirect questions.

3.3.6 Conclusion.

This section has been concerned to survey WH-clauses in the corpus, and has provided an account of the WH-words introducing indirect questions. We need to distinguish indirect exclamations and independent relatives from indirect questions for WSerE as for PE, though few examples of these are found in the corpus in typical complement clause position. There is also a frequent use of HOW which can be contextually close to $\bar{P}AT$ in sense, but seems to be used with the contrastive potential of indicating that the following clause is a summary or interpretation (perhaps reasonably characterized as the 'sentence' of what is reported) or is a narrative. Evidence for this depends on the meaning of this range of HOW-clauses, judged partly from their relationship with the Vulgate, and on some aspects of their distribution. Such clauses, however, are like indirect questions rather than $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses distributionally, and it seems best to regard them as weakened indirect questions, potentially distinct semantically but not constituting a separate syntactic clause type. The occurrence of $\bar{P}AT$ after WH-words and phrases in the corpus is very much lower than that found in Chaucer, and since it occurs mainly with HOW (of weakened sense) at the beginning of a sermon, it seems likely to be under the control of blending pressures and discourse requirements. Interestingly,

there is no indication that it varies in accordance with the factors isolated for \bar{P} AT/ZERO interchange in \bar{P} AT-clauses (except in so far as a particular matrix verb, TELLE, is frequently found with HOW \bar{P} AT) and it seems that quite different factors must control the presence and absence of \bar{P} AT in the two clause types. Moreover, the figures cited by Kivimaa (1966) for relative clauses in Chaucer may indicate that they are different yet again.

3.4 The Subjunctive in Complement Clauses

3.4.0 The occurrence of the subjunctive in complement clauses can be divided under three heads, and I shall deal with each of them in turn. It is found, firstly, in clauses where its opposition to the indicative conveys an independent volitional, tentative or hypothetical force, or within the scope of such a subjunctive, and in conditional and other adverb clauses (§3.4.1). Secondly we find it regularly when subordinate to certain verbs, and I try to characterize its use with these verbs in §3.4.2. Finally, we find it in some indirect question clauses (§3.4.3). In its use after certain verbs there is an interesting opposition between the inflectional subjunctive, and a 'periphrastic subjunctive' with shulde which is dealt with at some length in §3.4.4, where I suggest that we see in the distribution of shulde one of the patterns of replacement of the inflectional by the periphrastic subjunctive.

In Bodley 788 the inflectional subjunctive is not reliably distinct in the third person preterite (or in premodals), apart from were, but there are enough present tense instances to base a

discussion on. The use of shulde will be pointed out where it occurs, but 'subjunctive' in what follows means the inflectional category. It is not treated as a complementizer (pace R Lakoff 1968) because of its occurrence in main clauses.

3.4.1 The subjunctive in PAT-clauses not apparently motivated by the matrix verb.

The subjunctive is found in complement clauses in opposition to the indicative in the following circumstances:

(a) after a verb or noun of thinking, probably with independent 'tentative' force (cf Visser II §873). Further examples, which might occur within a main clause, are found under (b);

(1) ii.87.10 Here men seien pat Goddis lawe is just, ...
but of mannis lawe pei seien not so, but supposen
pat it be often unjust.

(2) ii.248.34 And, for oure hope shulde be in God pat he
helpe us in pis wey, ...

(b) in a complement clause where the subjunctive would have been expected had it been a main clause; so, in conditionals, in volitional expressions, and with 'reserved' were 'would be' (Visser II §859);

(3) ii.237.16 And bi pis may we see, pat 3if God made a
man of nou3t, ... 3it he were holden to God as myche
as he my3te for himsilf; ...

(4) ii.87.31 And so 3if prestis prechiden faste as Crist
hap ordeyned hem to preche, it semeþ pat pis were
ynow3, ...

(5) ii.256.32 Perfore Poul knittip after, 'pat Cristis
word dwelle in us in al maner of wisdom,' ...
Col 3.16 Verbum Christi habitat in vobis abundanter ...

(6) ii.78.22 For 3if pes ordres geten nevere so myche good,
pei seien pat al is per ordris, and it were a deedli
synne to scatire pes goodis in pe world.

- (7) i.23.37 þei witen þat it were weyn to axe more of þer
God.
i.191.7, i.26.13, i.157.15.

(c) where we may interpret the subjunctive as a hypothetical within the scope of another hypothetical, eg a conditional (some instances here could be in (a) or (b)).

- (8) i.198.31 'Crist bade hem wende forþ and preche to þe
peple þat þe kyngdom of hevene shal come,' al if hem
þenke þat it dwelle longe; ...
cf i.16/17 And þerfore 'if ... þou þenke þat þi
broþir,' for þi synne, 'haþ a cause agens þee,' ...
- (9) i.183.1 and if men tellen to þese goodis þat her love
passe resoun, ...
(cf MS.E: passip)
- (10) ii.231.27 God bringe doun þis fendis pryde, and helpe
þat Goddis word renne, ...
- (11) ii.263.29 Poul wolde not þat men gessiden þat he
were holi over þe soþe, ...
(cf ii.65.33 'Perfore nyle 3e gesse þat Y am to
accuse þou at þe fadir;' ...
i.166.22, (?)i.196.27

3.4.2 The subjunctive in ¹PAT-clauses subordinate to particular expressions.

Apart from cases interpretable as above, we find that some particular expressions occur regularly with a subordinate ¹PAT-clause whose verb is never indicative: it is subjunctive or neutralized (often shulde). There are two main groups of such expressions.

(a) Verbs of ordering, requesting, wishing and ensuring. Here there are two exceptional indicatives with WILLE that I discuss below. The three figures listed after each verb are the number of corpus instances with a clear subjunctive, then with shulde, then with other neutralized forms.

AXE 1,0,1; BIDDE 4,24,0; FORBEDE none; PREIE 4,2,3; PROCURE 1,0,0.
WILLE 9,3,14; (COVEITE 1,0,0).

LOKE 3,0,2; SEE none; BE WARE 1,0,1.

It is possible that COMAUNDE, LOVE, ORDEYNE should be listed here, but clear subjunctives are lacking; similarly DREDE, though this verb falls outside the semantic generalization made above. I have included instances which fall under §3.4.1; only in the case of COVEITE are the only instances known of this type. Possibly, too, verbs like HELPE (see (10)) should be included here. This accords with the normal ME tendency for the subjunctive to survive best with verbs of order, request, entreaty and volition (Visser II §869, Mustanoja 1960 p 459).

(b) The second group is verbs of evaluation taking a subject complement (also normal in ME, Visser II §§863, 866). But although the indicative is not found here in the corpus, or elsewhere in WSerE as far as I know, the number of examples is very small: only BE GOOD has as many as three corpus examples.

NEDE, BE NEDE (also shulde), BE NEDEFUL ÞING.

BE YNOW3, SUFFICE.

BE FOR ÞE LESTE ÞING, BE WOUNDIRFUL (shulde), BE GOOD.

Distinguish expressions found only with the indicative, or neutralized forms (except as under §3.4.1 above): BE CERTEYN, BE LICELI, SEME, HEM ÞENKE.

We seem here to have an area of regularity: the subjunctive is found in the subjects of evaluative predicates and in the ÞAT-clause objects of verbs of wishing, ordering, requesting and ensuring. It is interesting that both of these groups of verbs take sentential

complements which denote 'actions' or 'states of affairs', and not 'propositions', and that in all the instances found there is either no possibility of the complements being either true or false (as with verbs of wishing and ordering), or there is no implication that the complement is true or false (as with SEE, LOKE, which are not found here in the past tense but predominantly in the imperative). Thus the subjunctive is regular with certain hypotheticals, and apparently survives best in complement clauses where it was not in active opposition with the indicative. (But note the ME exceptions quoted in Visser §§863, 866, 869).

It is difficult to go beyond this rather schematic statement, because of insufficient data. But if we are to attempt a tentative generalization about the use of the subjunctive in WSerE PAT-clauses not covered by §3.4.1, it seems that it should be as above: that the subjunctive appears in some clauses denoting 'actions' or 'states of affairs' which are hypothetical in that the speaker would not wish to assign them a truth value dependent on their occurrence with the matrix verb. The more complex and detailed ideas of Karttunen (1971) are not readily applicable (cf in particular (17) and (18) below), but note his use of the notion 'what a speaker who uses the verb in good faith ought to believe' as the basis for his use of the term 'imply'.

Thus with MAKE we find both indicative ((12), i.1.16) and subjunctive ((13), ii.38.24, ii.342.25) PAT-clauses: MAKE is presumably an 'If-verb', which, when true 'implies' the truth of its complement, but when not true involves no such implication (Karttunen 1971, p 10).

Correspondingly, indicative instances with MAKE are implied true, subjunctive instances carry no implication.

- (12) ii.227.12 but þei breken charite, and maken þat discord of hem makip discord in good love.
- (13) ii.266.32 For he þenkeþ mekely how he is a lowe servaunt of God, and so ypocrisie makip not þat he hye him over resoun.

Similarly the indicative is used for a subordinate clause with a truth value, as regularly after FEYNE when positive, the ÞAT-clause having the value 'false' ((14), i.129.4, i.205.22, i.221.16, i.222.32, ii.90.27, ii.254.8), where LAWE refers to a natural law (15), BIHETE means 'assure of a fact' (16) (other examples with BIHETE are all neutralized), and in a most interesting passage with WILLE (19)* but (17) and (18) are possibly counterexamples to this generalization.

- (14) ii.90.6 for þei feynen þat it is love þat þei han to Goddis hous, but it is foul envie and coveitise of ypocritis.
- (15) i.173.10 for þis lawe lastip in good and yvel, þat o man loveþ lyk to hym, ...
- (16) i.378.33 ... Crist biheetip to hem þat him fallip not to geve hem þis, ...
- (17) ii.333.20 For noping lettip þat ne þe heritage is comen to many breþeren, ...
'For nothing prevents the inheritance from coming to many bretheren ...'
- (18) i.187.5 and al þis was of pride, þat God myȝte not suffre more, þat ne þe angel in hevene was dryvun þus in to helle.
'and pride caused all this, namely that (?so that) God could no longer endure that the angel in heaven was not driven into hell in this way.'

* The apparent instance of WILLE with indicative ÞAT-clause at i.217.17 is a misprint of wilen for MS witen.

- (19) i.324.6 And so, as men speken in Latyn, 3if
 God biddiþ þee do þis dede, God wole þat þou
 do þis dede, al if þou doist it not; for þou
 art in dette to do þis dede, and in þat is Goddis
 wille endid. But God wole not þat þou doist þis
 dede, for God knowiþ not þis treupe, but God wole
 þat þou do þis dede as God wole þat þou shuld
 do þis.

(19) follows a discussion of what God wills uttirli, which must come to pass, and what God wills upon condicioun, which need not come to pass. There must then, however, be a penalty for a man's failure to fulfil the decree: And so ever Goddis wille is fulfillid, ouper in dede, or penaunce. (i.323.36). So, I would translate:

'And so, as is said in Latin, if God orders you to do some deed or other, God decrees that you do it even if you do not in fact do it, because you have incurred a liability for this deed, and God's decree only extends that far. But God does not decree your actual performance of this deed, because it is not the case that God knows this actuality, but God decrees that you do this deed in so far as God decrees that you ought to do it.'

(cf ii.52.22 for use of KNOWE in the negative with counterfactual).

Arnold, ii.324 note b, translates this passage in a way which disregards the contrast of mood, and (unnecessarily) takes KNOWE to be factive. Taken as I translate, we have a (marked) use of the indicative to indicate actual fulfilment. In other cases where Wyclif or his reader might indeed have held that the content of the subordinate clause was true, but where this would have depended not on the use of WILLE but on external information, we find the unmarked subjunctive, as in (20).

- (20) ii.54.35 God wolde ... þat Crist were deed.

It is not clear that we can reliably form semantic judgements of the appropriate kind about WSerE, but it seems that an account of the subjunctive which is at least plausible would refer to its occurrence as the 'non-committal mood' (Jespersen 1924 p 317) used basically in truth-valueless complement ¹PAT-clauses, or in more direct opposition to the indicative, to convey a tentative or hypothetical force as in §3.4.1.

3.4.3 The subjunctive in indirect questions.

In embedded non-disjunctive WH questions (ie, those not introduced by the conjunction (not the pronoun) WHE¹PIR) the normal mood is the indicative. Only 3 subjunctive instances are found in the corpus:

- (21) i.191.26 we shulde avise us what staat or religioun
were most acordinge to þis makinge, ...
i.190.4, ii.234.16.

They all contain were, interpretable as the 'reserved' 'would be' of Visser II §859, as in §3.4.1 above.

In embedded disjunctive questions, as in main clause WHE¹PIR questions, there is variation between subjunctive and indicative as from OE times. It does not seem possible to reduce this to rule in any well motivated way: the presence of OR, nature of any expected answer, extent to which an answer is expected, or to which presuppositions are made - none provides a satisfactory framework for interpretation. However, it is clear that it is precisely in such questions that we frequently find that no presupposition about the actual truth-value of the subordinate clause is made, as it is in non-disjunctive questions (but cf (23) and (24)), so the use of

the subjunctive here in general ties in with the account of §3.4.2. I will try to illustrate the kind of variation found; for variation in direct WHEȚIR questions cf ii.22.2,4, ii.381.33.

- (22) i.109.7 resouns of þe fend, where Crist was boþe
 God and man, marrid him so þat he wiste nevere
 where þis was soþ or fals.
- (23) i.15.28 And þat man is a fool þat jugiþ after ony
 law, and woot not wheȥir he juge bi God, or ellis
 by jugement of þe fend; ...
- (24) ii.263.9 but Poul confessiþ his ignoraunce þat he
 not wheȥer he was ravishid in bodi or out of bodi,
 bi his spirit taken fro his bodi.
- (25) ii.41.18 noon of us woot now wher þis be soþ ...
- (26) i.237.34 and þei witen never where God hap
 ordeyned þat þis pardon mai stonde bi him.

3.4.4 The subjunctive and shulde after verbs of ordering and wishing.

3.4.4.0 Shulde (and other past tense forms of SHAL) occur in primary sequence in subordinate ÞAT-clauses after many verbs, eg SEIE, TECHE, TELLE, but one particular aspect of its grammar is especially interesting and open to investigation: its employment as a 'periphrastic subjunctive'. In subject clauses there is not enough data for investigation, though shulde does occur; after verbs of ensuring (LOKE group) no instances of shulde are found; but after verbs of ordering (BIDDE group) and wishing (WILLE group) we find both shulde and the inflectional subjunctive, with different patterns of distribution. Both occur most typically in clauses which involve a general order, request or wish: ie one not to be immediately fulfilled by a particular action or series of

actions (see §5.3.2). Within such clauses shulde is generally found when an order has been issued, particularly one which is to be fulfilled by the subject of the subordinate clause. In reported direct speech we might have expected a second person imperative. The subjunctive, on the other hand, is typically found in requests, or where the subject of the subordinate clause is not placed under an obligation. In reported direct speech we would not have expected an imperative. This distribution is preponderant, but the distinction drawn is not absolute: here are some instances of shulde and the subjunctive used in parallel instances:

- (27) i.30.35 And so Crist hadde sorewe of þes two synnes
of man, and bad þat þe bond of his witt shulde be
opened.
cf Mark 7.34 Ephpheta, quod est, adaperire.
- (28) i.275.5 First Crist biddip to his disciplis, 'þat
her lendis be girdid bifore, and lanternes brennyng
in her hondis,' ...
Luke 12.35 Sint lumbi vestri praecincti, et lucernae
ardentes in manibus vestris.
- (29) ii.334.1 Poul biddip at þe first þat Cristen men
'coveite not yvel þingis,' ...
- (30) ii.334.20 Þe þridde tyme biddip Poul, 'þat men
shulden not do fornicacioun,' ...
- (31) ii.334.27 Þe fourþe tyme biddip Poul, 'þat we
tempte not Crist,' ...
1 Cor 10.6 et seq Haec autem in figura facta
sunt nostri, ut non simus concupiscentes malorum, ...
Neque fornicemur, ... Neque tentemus Christum, ...

3.4.4.1 BIDDE followed by shulde and the subjunctive.

I will start by discussing two characteristics of the distribution of shulde and the subjunctive after BIDDE, since it is after this verb that the contrast is most clearly marked, and it seems that what holds for BIDDE may be generalized.

When a Vulgate second person imperative is being translated, it is rendered most often with shulde; when a Vulgate subjunctive (normally 'volitional', but including some cases of the subjunctive in a subordinate clause) is translated, it is often rendered by the subjunctive:

	<u>shulde</u>	Subjunctive
Vulgate imperative	14,31	0,2
Vulgate subjunctive (of volition, etc)	2,3	4,19

Here the first figure is that for the corpus, and the second is for the corpus and a further collection of instances, mainly from the epistle sermons in volume ii, which because of their subject matter provide a rich source for BIDDE + PAT-clause. As 'imperatives' I have included two kinds of instance besides direct translations of Vulgate imperatives underlined as translation in the manuscript. In the first there is correspondence with a Vulgate imperative, but no certainty that translation is the intended relationship, cf (27) quoted above. In the second the underlined text renders a participle or adjective in close proximity to an imperative, which should clearly be taken with imperative force as in (32).

- (32) ii.303.28 Petre biddiþ after to hise disciplis, 'þat
þei shulden herborwe ech opir wiþouten ony grutching,' ...
l Pet 4.7 et seq Estote itaque prudentes, et vigilate
in orationibus ... Hospitales invicem sine
murmuratione: ...

The contingency table for the total collection of PAT-clause instances (both inside and outside the corpus) is highly significant: $\chi^2 = 36$ and

p is very small indeed, so we can feel confident that shulde is preponderantly used for the report of an actual order, while the subjunctive is mainly used in instances where a second person imperative paraphrase would not be appropriate.

The force of what is reported in BIDDE + ¹PAT-clause cannot reliably be distinguished over a wider range of instances, including cases which do not render the Vulgate. But we can ask whether the subject of the lower clause is the person responsible for fulfilling the order or request, by looking at the passive in the ¹PAT-clause, and by asking the question directly. This helps to support the importance of the subject of the lower clause, and the notion of 'second person imperative' paraphrase for the characterization of the force of shulde. It should be noted that there is no difference in the incidence of a matrix clause indirect object with subordinate shulde or subjunctive: the question here is whether the person who is the focus of the order or prayer is the subject of the lower clause as in (33), (34) as distinct from (35), (36).

- (33) ii.225.12 sip Crist biddip men of his suyt pat
 pei shulden not have two cootis.
- (34) ii.248.29 And perfore biddip Poul to men pat
 pei shulden joie ever in God. Poul biddip
 to Cristene men, 'pat pei shulden be pacient in
 tribulacioun' pat fallip to hem.
 Rom 12.12 in tribulatione patientes: ...
- (35) i.157.14 ... Crist ... biddip hem, pat 'per
 herte be not disturblid ne drede;' ...
 John 14.27 Non turbetur cor vestrum neque
 formidet.
- (36) ii.256.34 Pe enlevenpe tyme Poule biddip, 'pat
 Cristis word be not ydil in us,' ...
 Colos 3.16 Verbum Christi habitet in vobis
 abundanter ...

CLAUSE MOOD	<u>shulde</u>	Subjunctive
Active in clause	23,46	4,21
Passive in clause	1,2	0,6

Contingency table for all examples: $\chi^2 = 5.9$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.025$

CLAUSE SUBJECT	<u>shulde</u>	Subjunctive
Subject called on to be active	21,44	0,15
Subject not called on to be active	3,4	4,12

Contingency table for all examples: $\chi^2 = 21.3$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.00001$

There is ample justification, then, for asserting that the distinction between shulde and the subjunctive correlates with two factors: (a) whether what is reported is an order or demand, in which case shulde is preferred, or a wish, request etc in which case the subjunctive is preferred; (b) whether in the report of an order or demand some obligation is imposed on the subject of the lower clause (shulde), or not (subjunctive). Hence instances like (37) and (38) will be orders or demands, yet typically occur in the subjunctive (contrast the second instance in (38)), as will requests and entreaties like (39).

- (37) i.283.7 And þanne God, wiþouten doute, biddiþ
þat þis manere be kept.
- (38) ii.362.8 and herfore biddiþ Poul, 'þat þe sunne
go not down upon þer wrappe,' ... And so þe
þridde witt of Poulis wordis biddiþ, þat man shulde
not be wroþ, ...
Eph 4.26 sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.
- (39) ii.357.23 And herfore Poul biddiþ aftir, þat þei
go in 'bonernesse', þat is a vertue of mekenesse, ...
Eph 4.1 et seq Obsecro itaque vos ego vinctus
in Domino, ut digne ambuletis vocatione, ... Cum
omni humilitate, et mansuetudine, ...

BIDDE is also found followed by a clause with shal. In the corpus the only examples are found in a report of some of the commandments, and it is not clear whether direct speech or an indirect clause is involved:

- (40) ii.253.10 For þis mandement of God þat biddiþ, 'Þou shalt, first, not be a lecchour;' þe secounde mandement þat biddiþ þat, 'Þou shalt not slee þi broþer;' ...
(4 eggs in all)
Rom 13.9 Nam: Non adulterabis: Non occides: Non furaberis: ...

(A Vulgate future with imperative force is rendered by a shulde clause in i.31.34.) Outside the corpus I know of a further 14 examples: all correspond directly or indirectly to the Vulgate, and render: imperative 9; verb form in -amini (imperative or subjunctive) 2; subjunctive 2; 'imperative' future 1.

- (41) i.270.9 And herfore biddiþ Crist to his disciplis, 'þat her liȝt shal shyne in presence of men, ...'
Matt 5.16 Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ...
- (42) i.261.28 first, he biddiþ 'þat we shal see,' and after þat 'we shal wake,' and þe þridde tyme þat 'we shal preie,' to contynue þes two.
Mark 13.33 Videte, vigilate, et orate: ...

From these few examples it seems that the distribution of shal is like that of shulde, rather than the subjunctive, but we cannot say that it does not perhaps neutralize the difference between the two.

3.4.4.2 Shulde and the subjunctive with other verbs.

With WILLE the situation is not dissimilar. Apart from the example quoted as (19) above, which shows shuldist used with a sense of obligation, I know 4 other examples of WILLE with shulde clause (3 in the corpus); all, except perhaps (44), have the sense

of OED Will, v.¹ B.3 'ordain, give order.' or 3c 'demand, require'; the subjects of WILLE are Crist, reule of Cristis lawe; and the subject of the lower clause is human, and is placed under an obligation:

- (43) i.193.32 but reule of Cristis lawe wolde þat
alle men shulden renounsē to hem obedience
or oþer service but as þei shulden obeishe to
Crist.
- (44) ii.87.20 For Crist wolde, for þe tyme of grace,
þat men shulden turne men bi preching, and
good liif and clene of preestis, wiþouten
sich feyned lawes.
- (45) ii.25.31 Crist wolde here þat whoever hadde an
hooli purpos to lyve wel, he shulde not leve
þis purpos for no movyng of þe world; ...

and i.194.17.

The subjunctive may also occur in sentences which are parallel to these, eg (46) and (47), but it occurs more widely, as in (48) and (49):

- (46) i.236.10 þei synnen gretli þat traveilen here
to knowe þis tyme, and leven oþer þing þat
God wole þat men knowen and done; ...
- (47) ii.25.2 and 3it Crist wolde þat þis man levede
þis and sude him.
cf i.24.25 'Crist seide to anoþer man, Sue þou
me. And he seide, Sire, lete me first go and
birie my fadir. And Jesus seide to him, Suffre
þat dede men birie þer dede.'
- (48) ii.58.24 And it semep þat Petre wolde þat þes
tabernaclis weren large, þat þes þree apostlis
myȝte sitte in þes þre tabernaclis.
- (49) i.3.1 'for he hadde fyve breþeren, and he wolde
þat þei weren warnid to amenden hem of her
lyf;' ...

Among instances of WILLE, those with the sense 'give order, demand' and shulde form a distinct group; it is difficult to pick out just those instances of such a sense distinct from other senses, but my

attempt to do so yielded the following result (instances inside and outside the corpus):

	<u>shulde</u>	Subjunctive
Imperative sense	4	8
No imperative sense	0	47

(which is statistically highly significant). Thus it seems that WILLE shows the same contrast as BIDDE. Both are, of course, verbs with a wide semantic range, within which contrast would be useful. BIDDE may be 'command, enjoin' (OED Bid, v. IV) or 'to ask pressingly, beg, entreat, pray' (OED Bid, v. 7) (cf ii.43.13, 252.27, 270.13); WILLE may be 'desire, wish' (OED Will, v.¹ B.2) or 'Determine, decree, ordain, enjoin, give order ...' (OED Will, v.¹ B.3).

It seems that this contrast may (less convincingly) be shown in other verbs of ordering and wishing, firstly in the overall proportions of occurrence of the subjunctive and shulde, and then in the contrasts within each verb. The corpus incidence of shulde and the subjunctive (quoting shulde first and including neutralized forms as subjunctive) is as follows:

AXE 'request', 'require' 0,2; BIDDE 24,4; COVEITE 0,1; PREIE 2,7; LOVE 1,1; WILLE 3,23.

SEE, LOKE, BE WARE, and PROCURE (all roughly 'see to it that') are not found with shulde. If we suggested that shulde was preferred in reports of orders obliging the subordinate clause subject this would be consistent both with the overall occurrence of shulde and subjunctive with these lexical items, and generally with the particular examples found. So LOVE in (50) occurs in an expression close to a command; PREIE renders a Vulgate imperative in (51),

but also rogare ut in (52); COMANDE introduces an order which obliges the subject of the lower clause in (53), and does not in (54); but AXE in (55) occurs with a passive lower clause containing shulde. Thus the examples found with other verbs of commanding and wishing, both inside and outside the corpus, generally support the distinction between shulde and the subjunctive outlined above for BIDDE and WILLE.

- (50) i.166.29 ... God, þat loveþ þat ech man shulde
be meke, ...
- (51) ii.245.10 And þis menep Poul here, whan he preieþ
unto Romayns þat þei shulden be reformed in new-
nesse of þer wittis.
cf Romans 12.1 et seq Obsecro itaque vos, fratres,
... nolite conformari huic seculo: sed reformamini
in novitate sensus vestri ...
- (52) ii.264.5 But 3it 'he preiede God þries þat þis
angel shulde wende away from him; ...'
2 Cor 12.8 Propter quod ter Dominum rogavi ut
discederet a me.
- (53) i.118.28 and herfore comaundide Crist þe fendis
þat he caste out þat þei shulden not speke to
witness his Godhede, ...
- (54) i.377.6 'Crist axide hir what she wolde, and she
seide to him, Comaunde þat þes two apostlis, ...
sitte next þee in þi rewme, ...
Matt 20.21 ... Ait illi: Dic ut sedeant hi
duo filii mei, unus ad dexteram tuam, et unus ad
sinistram, in regno tuo.
- (55) i.306.32 and so resoun of God axide þat comyng
agen of þis rewme shulde be gete bi penaunce
contrarie to gloterie.

3.4.4.3 Historical interpretation.

It is interesting to see an apparently well delineated system of contrast between shulde and the subjunctive here in the text of WSerE. It not only makes more precise, for this text, the kind of

characterization of ME shulde given elsewhere (eg Kerkhof 1966 §176 it "may express the will of the speaker, often in reported speech"), but it is open to interpretation as a stage in the process by which the periphrastic subjunctive largely replaced the inflectional subjunctive. This interpretation is important because it makes it possible to suggest with some assurance that the grammar of the opposition shulde : subjunctive is one that involves order : request as discussed above. Otherwise we might seek other explanations of the textual distribution.

Historically what seems to have happened is that in eME shulde became available in clauses of indirect command as an independent option, and not just as a remote sequence tense-shifted shal. Visser III.1 §1546 points out such an example from 1290, but cites an earlier one from St Katherine cl200. It may have developed as a 'tense-shifted' shal (OED Shall, y. B.4,5,11,14), or from shulde 'ought to' (OED Shall, y. B.18) or both. In either case its origin is presumably that it provides an 'emphatic' or more redundant indication of the reported order in the subordinate clause; this may be the reason for the massive preponderance of shal shulde forms in WSerE in clauses to which a second person imperative paraphrase apparently corresponds. Such instances might be thought of as the 'leading edge' of reported commands which shal shulde would first enter. Thus the textual distribution of shal shulde after verbs of ordering and wishing is open to interpretation as a stage in a reasonably hypothesized account of the history of shal shulde in such clauses, and more particularly of the development of shulde as a periphrastic subjunctive, and the existence of this historical account supports our interpretation of the textual facts of WSerE.

There is one further interesting characteristic of shulde after verbs of ordering and wishing: it nearly always corresponds to the issuing of a general precept. Thus the subject of BIDDE (etc) is deity, Peter, Paul, the law (etc); the person obliged is very commonly no individual but all people of a certain type; the order is not one which can straightforwardly be fulfilled, but is a precept. In short, were we to propose a ME paraphrase which did not involve a clause of indirect command, the use of shulde 'ought to' would nearly always seem suitable. I argue in §5.3.2 that 1PAT-clauses tend in any case to encapsulate precepts after verbs of ordering, so this may merely show the openness of such clauses to invasion by shulde. But in WSerE it seems possible that there is a special relationship with shulde 'ought to' because of its common occurrence after a present tense matrix verb, and because the exceptions I know to the use of shulde to encapsulate a precept are all except two in the (less common) remote sequence, and hence might be interpreted as 'tense-shifted' shal: the examples are (27), (52), (53), i.114.5, ii.27.24, ii.308.13, but not (51) or (56). Perhaps this shows the historical importance of shulde 'ought to' (OED Shall, v. B.18) in motivating this periphrastic use alongside the less frequent remote sequence shulde, granted the equally early occurrence of the latter (Visser III.1 §1546 for OE examples).

- (56) i.370.28 and þus biddiþ þe prophete his child,
 þat he shulde not drede him, ...
 cf 4 Kings 6.16 At ille respondit: Noli timere:...

An apparent problem of interpretation is raised by the possibility of blending where the Vulgate is introduced. This has been discussed in §1.7.5.

3.4.4.4 Conclusion.

I hope to have shown in this section that in object ¹PAT-clauses after verbs of wishing and ordering shulde may be used to indicate that what is reported is an order or demand, and that the subject of the lower clause is obliged by it. There are not many instances of shulde outside this generalization. I hope also to have shown that this is interpretable as a stage in the grammaticization of shulde primarily, perhaps, from its use to mean 'ought to', and that the combination of textual evidence with a satisfactory historical account enables us to feel reasonably sure that the above interpretation is an appropriate one.

3.4.5 Conclusion.

In complement clauses the inflectional subjunctive may occur in opposition to the indicative independently with the tentative, hypothetical or volitional force found in main clauses. It is also found regularly in the object clause of verbs of ordering, requesting, wishing and ensuring, and in the subject clause of expressions of evaluation, besides being common in 'yes/no' indirect questions introduced by WHE¹PIR 'whether'. Perhaps its occurrence in these clause types and after other complement verbs can be generalized as occurrence (with varying degrees of regularity) in clauses which have no truth value by virtue of the expression in which they occur.

There is an opposition between shulde and the subjunctive after verbs of ordering, requesting and wishing. From the differential use made of shulde and the subjunctive with BIDDE, to render Vulgate imperatives and subjunctives, or to indicate an obligation placed on

the subject of the lower clause, it is clear that shulde conveys the notion of an order which obliges its subject, whereas the subjunctive does not. This is apparently also more widely true with verbs of wishing and ordering. Since it is open to interpretation as a stage in the historical transfer of shulde from lexis to grammar, we may be confident about this account of the opposition between shulde and the subjunctive in WSerE. It also sheds light on one mechanism by which the 'periphrastic subjunctive' developed.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the major oppositions within finite complement clauses, and with the marking of such clauses by $\bar{P}AT$. Direct speech and indirect clause have been dealt with, and a category of 'indirect speech' suggested; different WH-clauses (indirect exclamation, headless relative, indirect question and the weakened HOW of indirect question) have been distinguished, and the oppositions first between subjunctive and indicative, then between subjunctive and shulde have been characterized. The presence and absence of $\bar{P}AT$ with direct speech, indirect clause and WH-clause has been discussed and characterized. We turn now in chapter 4 to the last major separate topic of general importance in complement clauses, the marking of infinitives, before chapter 5 which will provide a more general account of the remaining aspects of the grammar of complement clauses.

4.0 Introduction

Infinitives in WSerE may be unIntroduced, or preceded by TO or FOR TO. I shall refer to the unIntroduced or 'plain' infinitive as preceded by ZERO. This chapter is devoted to an examination of the conditions which control the incidence of marking by ZERO, TO and FOR TO,* and reaches conclusions which represent a refinement of the apparently standard view that where variation exists a major factor in its control is 'separation' of the infinitive from its matrix verb. In this examination of the initial marking of infinitives it was felt that reliable conclusions would be reached without reference to the characterization of infinitives by their termination, which is -en, -e or ZERO in WSerE, although no doubt there is an inter-relation between the initial and final marking of infinitives. Infinitive endings have therefore been disregarded in what follows.

In this chapter reference is made to the occurrence of MAI, WILLE, SHAL etc plus plain infinitive in WSerE, though these structures have not elsewhere been treated as complement structures, and no full collection of corpus instances has been made. For the purposes of this chapter, however, a full collection of other infinitives within the sermon corpus was made, to include infinitives in adverbial

* Some of the main results incorporated in this chapter were presented in Warner (1975). Note that the classification of examples in that article was intended to parallel that of Quirk and Svartvik (1970) and differs slightly from that adopted in this thesis. Instances with passivized infinitival subject were not included in the article, but have been included here.

and adjectival function, since it was clear that this was necessary for an adequate discussion of infinitive marking. The chapter, then, is based on this full collection of infinitives of all types, with the exception of plain infinitives after MAI, SHAL etc, but including the five instances of plain infinitive after DAR found in the corpus in order to parallel the practice of Quirk and Svartvik (1970 cf pp 394,399) and provide a more satisfactory comparison with their findings. Only the first infinitive of any series of coordinated infinitives has been included in the figures given, except of course in the section devoted specifically to coordinated infinitives.

We may plainly isolate the two oppositions ZERO : (FOR) TO and TO : FOR TO within infinitive markers on distributional grounds. Within this system we might expect to see the operation of the three factors which Quirk and Svartvik (1970) point to as influencing the selection of ZERO, TO and FOR TO in a corpus drawn from Chaucer, ie:

- (a) Grammatical function (and see especially Bock 1931, Mustanoja 1960). Selection by matrix verb is included here.
- (b) The separation of the dependent infinitive from its governing verb (and see especially Ohlander 1941, Mustanoja 1960).
- (c) A tendency in coordinate infinitives for the second and subsequent infinitives to show reduced marking.

The importance of grammatical function for the selection of ZERO, TO or FOR TO in WSerE is clear: in fact it is much more obvious here than in the Chaucerian corpus, which partly reflects the different constraints on usage in verse. Thus we find that selection is controlled by particular verbs, and particular construction types. One important aspect of the regular construction with ZERO which

characterizes such verbs as SHAL is that it helps us to identify and isolate a class of verbs containing some of the ancestors of our PE modals (here called 'premodals'), and to conclude that they already form a distinct syntactic class in WSerE. The importance of separation from matrix verb as influencing the selection of FOR TO is pointed to by Quirk and Svartvik (1970), and elsewhere its influence in the selection of (FOR) TO is discussed. Curiously the importance of this factor in WSerE seems to be rather small: it certainly does not seem to be as clear in its effects as the separation of a conjoined infinitive from the conjunction which precedes, and I shall suggest that it is possible that instances in which FOR TO has been thought to be motivated by separation may rather be motivated by fronted material, or even because FOR TO has the value of marking structures where a preceding NP is not to be taken as infinitive subject. Finally, in other respects, coordinated infinitives apparently show parallel tendencies in respect of marking to those shown in Quirk and Svartvik's Chaucerian corpus, but with slightly different results in detail.

In this chapter after some preliminary remarks on comparative incidence (§4.1), I shall discuss the selection of ZERO (§4.2) and of FOR TO (§4.3) in so far as they can profitably be discussed by themselves, and will then devote a section (§4.4) to separation, coordinated infinitives and some more general comments on infinitive marking.

4.1 Preliminary Characterization of Infinitive Marking in the Corpus

In the corpus there is a clear distributional parallel between infinitives with TO and FOR TO; infinitives with ZERO are considerably

restricted by contrast. Thus the division of infinitive marking into two oppositions, ZERO : (FOR) TO and TO : FOR TO, is distributionally justified. Infinitives with ZERO are found only as complements to verbs (including HAN LEVERE), not as complement to adjectives or nouns, as adverbial adjuncts or as surface subjects (extraposed or not) or predicates; certain verbs prefer ZERO as discussed below. Elsewhere we find (FOR) TO, with FOR TO selected especially in adjuncts, in other particular constructions, and by certain verbs.

It is interesting to note that though the proportionate incidence of plain infinitives is strikingly low in comparison with that found by Professors Quirk and Svartvik (1970) for a Chaucerian corpus, the incidence of TO and FOR TO relative to each other is very like their result for the beginning of the translation of De Consolatione Philosophiae. Thus to consider the opposition ZERO : (FOR) TO, the sermon corpus selects ZERO in 5% of cases, De Cons Phil in 14% (but this represents only 7 examples), the other 4 Chaucerian texts in 17%.* However in the opposition TO : FOR TO, WSerE selects FOR TO in 10% of cases, De Cons Phil in 9%, the other 4 Chaucerian texts in 26%, (and the Book of London English in some 17% cf Mustanoja 1960 p 514). This means in effect that the sermon corpus is rather like the only unambiguously prose Chaucerian text for which figures are available in the comparative incidence of TO and FOR TO, though not of ZERO. Three of the other texts used by Quirk and Svartvik were verse, and the fourth was the first 440 lines of the prose Tale of Melibee, of which Robinson (1957) remarks (p 741) "Chaucer's prose at the

* But this figure of 17% reflects the high incidence of GINNEN in Chaucer's verse. It is not found in the sermon corpus.

beginning of the Melibee can be almost continuously scanned as decasyllabic verse. The number of metrical lines falls off rapidly after the first few pages."

4.2 ZERO : (FOR) TO. The Selection of ZERO.

4.2.1 ZERO occurs more restrictedly than (FOR) TO in the corpus, as described above: only in object complements of verbs. Here it is apparently selected particularly by certain matrix verbs, as also by the class which contains some of the ancestors of our PE modals. Thus DAR, MAI, MOT and SHAL occur regularly with ZERO, while CUNNE and WILLE prefer ZERO but are occasionally found with TO. Other verbs (except for SEE and HAN LEVERE which occur once each) are found with both ZERO and (FOR) TO, and the three which most regularly select ZERO are BIDDE (23 corpus ZERO out of 31 instances), LETE (5 out of 5 corpus instances; found with TO at i.81.16) and MAKE (7 out of 36 corpus instances). Only 8 of the 23 examples with BIDDE pass the indirect clause tests of §3.1, but all 23 have been accepted as infinitives nonetheless. A further 11 instances contain possible ZERO infinitives, but render direct speech in the Vulgate: they have been omitted from the group of examples considered in this chapter. Other verbs found with ZERO are: FORFENDE, HAN LEVERE, SEE, WENE (and ?ORDEYNE). The only verbs which occur in sufficient quantity for one to point with confidence to a tendency to avoid ZERO are MOVE (0/31 in the corpus and none noted outside, cf the construction with TO NP), and perhaps LETTE (0/26 in the corpus and none noted outside, ?reinforcing the opposition with LETE).

4.2.2 Premodals and unmarked infinitives.

Apart from this lexically controlled selection of ZERO by its matrix verb, which would be reasonably dealt with by a rule deleting (FOR) TO (justified by the alternation between (FOR) TO and ZERO), there is the more systematic occurrence of ZERO with the class of verbs containing some of the ancestors of our PE modals. This class of verbs will be dubbed 'premodals'. Here the contrast between ZERO and (FOR) TO is apparently used as a structural signal, and is not open to the kind of variation found after other verbs. Indeed, it seems that premodals may be characterized as a class, and that the marking of an infinitive in contact with them by ZERO is one of the signs of the class. In order to clarify this function of ZERO it will be necessary to discuss the characteristics of premodals. This may seem to represent something of a digression from the main topic of this chapter, but it is a digression well worth making in itself, and one ultimately important for the characterization of unmarked infinitives in WSerE.

It is clear that the premodals had a special syntactic status in English cl400. The PE modals are distinguished by a series of features:

- (a) They have only finite forms.
- (b) They do not occur with NP objects.
- (c) They do not occur with the TO-infinitive.
- (d) They have preterite-present conjugation.
- (e) The preterite is not semantically related to the present merely by tense.

Much of this series of features already holds cl400. In this table

I have used evidence from MED, OED, Visser and WSerE, bracketing information of occurrence not derived from WSerE, but adopting a presumption of absence on evidence from all these sources. The resulting picture is therefore a tentative statement, open to modification, in particular when the remaining volumes of MED are published.

	Nonfinite forms	NP object	PAT S	With TO VP in contact
SHAL SHULDE	-	(+)	-	-
MOT MOSTE	-	-	-	-
(MUN 'shall')	-	-	-	-
(THAR(F))	-	-	-	-
DAR DURSTE	(+)	-	(+)	-
MAI MY3TE	+	(+)	-	(+)
CAN COWDE	+	+	-	+
WOLE WOLDE	+	+	+	+
(OWE OUGHT)	(+)	(+)	-	(+)

For the semantic interrelationship of preterite and present tenses, cf Visser (II §812). The NP objects of SHAL and MAI are marginal in that the range of NP found is highly restricted. SHAL can mean 'to owe' (OED Shall, y. B.1.) and MAI is followed by a cognate object (but OED only cites N texts) or, in EV and LV, by some phrase involving quantification: no more, mekill, alle thinges. None of these options is found in the corpus, however. Thus there is apparently already a grouping of verbs (principally SHAL and MOT) which have only finite forms, do not occur with NP objects, do not occur in contact with a (FOR) TO-infinitive, have preterite-present conjugation and perhaps a semantically irregular preterite. The class is clearly less well defined than today; thus, eg, there are other preterite-present verbs.

But it seems to be well defined in one respect which has not previously been noticed: these seem to be the only verbs taking an infinitive as part of their subcategorization where the infinitive does not commute with NP or PP. I base this assertion on the evidence of WSerE, and on a scrutiny of Visser III.1 §§1174-1727, amplified by OED and MED. With two classes of exception, all other verbs with (TO) VP may have PP or NP in the same sense or a very closely related sense. The possible exceptions are verbs of hastening (§1251) and verbs of motion and rest (§§1312-1327), but even here parallel PP seem possible. Presumably OUGHT is still synchronically related to OWE to an extent which prevents it from being a counterexample. With the two impersonal verbs that occur regularly with ZERO infinitive in LME, MUST and THAR(F), a parallel point can be made: there seems to be no evidence of constructions with NP subject (with or without the associated oblique pronoun) unless ellipsis is involved. Hence there is apparently no opposition between infinitive and NP. Thus premodals have in common not only the features listed above, including the regular occurrence of ZERO-infinitive when in contact, but also their isolation as verbs taking an infinitive which does not commute with NP or PP. Even if this should turn out not to be an exceptionless statement, it must still have been a very striking regularity in use and from the point of view of the language learner. I should add that I am assuming an analysis of structures like (1) in which NP ... TO VP occupies only one place in deep structure. But whether we adopt a one or two place deep structure analysis of premodals it seems that we fail, except very restrictedly as above, to find appropriate NP structures in LME, eg neither NP MOT 'something is permitted,

- (1) i.389.12 And feyned treuþe of þe kyng semeþ to
foolis to excuse þis deed, ...

necessary' (cf OED Mote, v.¹ 2 for an eME example), or NP MOT NP 'someone is permitted something, etc'. But cf OED Shall, v. 26 "With the sense 'is due', 'is proper' ...".

From all this we may perhaps deduce two things. The first is the importance of the opposition ZERO : (FOR) TO, which may well reflect a difference in structure here, and not merely be the result of the regular deletion of (FOR) TO. The frequency of premodals might be held an adequate historical reason for the regularity with which an infinitive in contact with them is plain. But synchronically this regularity appears as more than a mere lexical idiosyncrasy, and is rather a mark of the structural distinctness of premodals. We have, after all, no reason to claim that their following infinitive is derived by recursion of S through the node NP, and should perhaps postulate verb-phrase complementation or even some more radical structural difference. Then the presence of (FOR) TO might be seen as forbidden with a subordinate infinitive directly following its verb unless it was dominated by NP. Clearly the lack of (FOR) TO with infinitives after premodals must depend on the potential a premodal has to mark the following phrase as infinitival, as well as on the fact that (FOR) TO typically marks a phrase not only as infinitival but also as equivalent to NP or PP in function postverbally. But the first type of marking is important when the infinitive is fronted, or occurs after a conjunction or widely separated from its matrix verb: all circumstances in which premodals are found with (FOR) TO infinitive marking.

The second deduction that we should make is that the status of premodals as already a syntactic class in WSerE seems undeniable.

The second point is supported by some very interesting and suggestive, but rather slender evidence, which may show that in WSerE CUNNE and WILLE were both normal verbs and premodals (just as NEED in PE behaves both like verb and modal). The 4 WSerE instances I know of the 'marginal' premodals CUNNE and WILLE with TO VP are followed directly by TO VP, but they are themselves not finite, hence unlike central premodals (CUNNE: i.148.7; WILLE: i.182.18, i.195.34, ii.38.5 and cf ii.353.26 MS E). The same distinction is shown with instances of CUNNE and WILLE in LV which I have noted, and in the quotations and references given by Ortmann (1902 p 55) and Hollack (1903 p 65): when TO VP appears in contact with them, CUNNE and WILLE are not finite. If WSerE and WBib had a distinct class of premodals this behaviour is comprehensible. Otherwise it seems simply quite puzzling. (This is not generally true for WILLE in LME cf Visser III.1 §1730. But note that the only instance of MAY + TO VP in contact in §1732 is nonfinite.) It has recently been claimed that premodals were reanalysed as modals in the early sixteenth century (Lightfoot 1974). We have evidence here, however, that there was probably a much earlier syntactic reanalysis, with subsequent lexical shifts (eg by WILL and MAY) to an already established class. Let me briefly remark at this point that this earlier more piecemeal establishment of syntactic modals sharply reduces the plausibility of the view of syntactic change as necessarily cataclysmic and independent of semantics which Lightfoot has built in part upon his account of the modals (see also Lightfoot 1977).

This section has two important conclusions. One is that there was already in WSerE a syntactically isolable group of premodal verbs,

to be distinguished from other verbs not only by the common properties generally cited as the marks of PE modals, but also because they share the at least very restricted and perhaps unique property of occurring with an infinitive while they fail to occur with NP or PP. Thus they are structurally different from other instances of complementation and this difference is marked by the regular occurrence of ZERO with a following infinitive. This is the second important conclusion: that the opposition ZERO : (FOR) TO is used here for a structural distinction, and it is not simply the case that (FOR) TO always happens to be deleted with certain verbs. Thus in the choice between ZERO and (FOR) TO, ZERO is restricted to postverbal complement position where it is selected either to mark a particular structure, with premodals, or as a result of the lexical preference for (FOR) TO or ZERO exercised by the matrix verb.

4.3 TO : FOR TO. The selection of FOR TO.

Just as the opposition ZERO : (FOR) TO is partly grammatically and partly lexically conditioned, so too is the opposition TO : FOR TO. Thus grammatical conditioning is shown by the frequency of FOR TO in adjuncts, and also by its frequency in two more restricted construction types described below. Lexically FOR TO is perhaps selected by BIGYNNE (3 out of 13 corpus instances), LETTE (2 out of 26) and ORDEYNE (2 out of 10); it seems to be avoided by MAKE (0/36 in the corpus, and only one noted outside it) and perhaps by MOVE (0/31 in the corpus, but 7 noted outside it). Otherwise figures are too small to talk of selection and avoidance; FOR TO is also found with the

following verbs: CASTE, CONFORTE, CONSTREYNE, DESIRE, FLEE, LONGE, MARKE, SHAME, STIRE, TAKE 'take it that one should', TECHE, ?WRITE.

The first of the two more restricted grammatical structures which strongly favour FOR TO is BE plus infinitive indicating some degree of duty or obligation, where the subject of BE, if present, is either IT or the notional object of the infinitive as in:

(2) ii.236.19 And so þre shorte wordis ben to speke of
Ysaies speche, ...

(3) ii.234.24 And of bodili blisse is first for to speke, ...

For comparative purposes I deal also with the type in which the subject of BE is the notional subject of the infinitive, and which most frequently indicates futurity, eg

(4) ii.65.33 'Perfore nyle 3e gesse þat Y am to accuse
3ou at þe fadir; ...'
John 5.45 Nolite putare quia ego accusaturus sim
vos apud Patrem: ...

Since these types are relatively infrequent a larger corpus, consisting of the rest of volume i and volume ii.1-50, has been used for them. When we compare the two constructions it is quite clear that FOR TO is strongly preferred in the first type.

	TO V	FOR TO V	
'He is to blame' type	27	10	37
'He is to come' type	28	2	30
	55	12	67

$$\chi^2 = 4.67, df = 1, p < 0.04$$

The ratio of TO : FOR TO seems to be in the region of 3:1 which is a higher incidence of FOR TO even than in infinitive adjuncts. (Cf Visser III.1 §1384 who notes the high incidence of FOR TO V in ME in such structures. His examples in this section also show a ratio

of roughly 3:1 for TO : FOR TO.) There are also 4 examples of FOR TO V among the 11 in which BE has IT as subject, or has no subject.

A higher ratio still is shown in the second structure which favours FOR TO. This is represented by:

- (5) i.183.13 and þis purpos is nedeful Cristen men to have.
- (6) ii.273.31 þes two synnes ben ful comoun, and nedeful
to warne folk of.
- (7) i.134.4 Þe þridde vertue nedeful for to take þis
sacrament is vertue of charite; ...
- (8) ii.46.17 For scheep ben goode for to ete, and getis
fleish is unsavery.

where the subject of BE plus adjective is notionally the object of (or stands in some complement/adjunct relation to) the infinitive. Here again the type is rather infrequent, and a wider corpus has been used which adds i.92-162, 206-279, ii.1-50 to the basic corpus. I have not included as examples of this type cases involving relative clauses where either PAT or the infinitive might be regarded as the subject of the verb, eg

- (9) i.94.17 sorowe of losse of þinge þat were betere
to him to want, ...

We may distinguish two subtypes here, depending on whether or not there is a related construction of this form (cf §5.1.3.2).

- (10) i.263.29 And it is ful nedeful to fede mennis bodi
in mesure, ...

where the related form seems to provide a rather close paraphrase, as in the case of (5) and (6) above. The number of occurrences of FOR TO and TO in this type as a whole is: TO: 12, FOR TO: 14 (and for the subtype with related construction only: TO: 6, FOR TO: 10).

Although these figures are small the ratios are impressively different from those which obtain elsewhere, and it seems reasonable to conclude that FOR TO is strongly favoured in this construction type in the sermons. It is interesting that FOR TO should be most common in the type of (7) and (8) that is plainly related to prepositional adjuncts with FOR, since this seems to indicate motivation for FOR TO from the preposition (perhaps even also in the type of (5) and (6)). There is, however, curiously no especial association of FOR TO with purpose adjuncts over and above that with adjuncts more generally, as we shall see immediately.

The most frequent construction type in which FOR TO is preferred is adverbial adjuncts. The disproportion here between TO and FOR TO is massive, as also in Chaucer (Quirk and Svartvik 1970 p 399). Outside adjuncts, one (FOR) TO infinitive in 14 has FOR TO; in adjuncts the figure is one in $4\frac{1}{2}$. So FOR TO is over three times as frequent in adjuncts as outside. Statistically this is a highly significant result (the contingency table has $\chi^2 = 32.5$, $df = 1$ hence $p < .00001$). However, although one might well have expected some association with the preposition FOR to show up here, in a favouring of FOR TO with purpose adjuncts, cf (11) and Mustanoja (1960 p 514), even granted that FOR is not merely to be equated with 'purpose' (thus see, eg, ii.86.5), there is no trace whatever of such an association. Moreover, the situation in Chaucer is exactly the same, see Quirk and Svartvik (1970 Table 2 p 398), despite their remark, "The fact that the majority of the adjunctive for to-infinitives express purpose ... points to considerable retention in Chaucer's language of the original function of this infinitive ..." (p 399).

- (11) ii.89.7 for to gete name of þe world, and not for
love of Cristis Chirche, ...

Infinitives as subjectless adjuncts in the sermon corpus

	TO V	FOR TO V	
nonpurposive	19	6	25
purposive	113	31	144
	132	37	169

$$\chi^2 = .076$$

(Here the examples of i.29.26 were classified as 'nonpurposive'. If a 'purposive' classification is adopted, then $\chi^2 = .3$ and the same result is shown.)

The majority of adjunctive FOR TO-infinitives express purpose only because the majority of adjunctive infinitives do. So it seems that FOR TO is associated especially with the three constructions mentioned simply as a marked form of the infinitive, and is moreover especially frequent with one because of its relationship with the preposition FOR. But despite the apparent existence of such a relationship, it does not show up in purpose adjuncts where one might also have expected to find it.

4.4 Marking in Separated and Conjoined Infinitives

4.4.1 It has been claimed that a greater degree of separation of the infinitive from the matrix verb which governs it correlates with a higher incidence of (FOR) TO over ZERO (Mustanoja 1960 p 522, Ohlander 1941), and Quirk and Svartvik (1970) make this claim for the pre-dominance of FOR TO over TO in Chaucer. There is, however, no demonstration of any such correlation in WSerE for the second of these oppositions, either generally or with particular verbs, though the evidence is suggestive of a weak relationship. An examination of

conjoined infinitives shows that they may behave idiosyncratically in this respect, and leads to the idea that perhaps separation from matrix verb is less important in itself than is separation from conjunction or the fronting of some element across the infinitive.

In considering the problem of separation of an infinitive from its matrix verb the question of what constitutes 'separation' can be answered in various ways. I first considered straightforward V plus infinitive constructions, and counted as 'separated' any instance where what intervened between V and infinitive was more than a single short word (eg a one word adverb after, not, ofte, perbi or an inverted subject), as Quirk and Svartvik had done (1970 pp 403-4). The result, however, was very different from theirs since the table for all three types of marking was far from significant (the contingency table has $\chi^2 = 4.52$, $df = 2$, hence $p > 0.10$). Since absolute numbers with ZERO and FOR TO are relatively low it seemed worth considering a wider range of examples. These show that with the ZERO : (FOR) TO opposition it is very likely that (FOR) TO is selected when there is a greater degree of separation. With MAKE a collection of nearly 100 instances (including ex-corpus examples noted in reading) shows this convincingly: ZERO predominates with intervening pronoun, (FOR) TO with intervening NP of more than two words, and the overall correlation is highly significant statistically (the contingency table has $\chi^2 = 7.98$, $df = 1$, so that $p < .005$). For the general case of V-NP-infinitive structures there is no such straightforward demonstration, but the figures seem reasonably convincing nonetheless if we take 'separation' to mean 'separation by two words or more' (the contingency table has $\chi^2 = 3.64$, $df = 1$, $.05 < p < .06$). These figures, of course, include many verbs which do not occur with ZERO and may be presumed to select it much less

readily than MAKE if at all, so we may apparently reasonably conclude that with verbs that select an infinitive marked by either ZERO or (FOR) TO, one of the factors influencing the selection of (FOR) TO is separation of the infinitive from its matrix verb.

For the opposition TO : FOR TO, however, the demonstration of the effect of separation is much less clear, and any importance it has must evidently be very much lower than is the case in Chaucer. Here the wider range of examples included those with VERB followed by NP plus infinitive and those with infinitive as noun modifier besides VERB plus infinitive. Sets of figures were produced for each structural type which took the minimum measure of 'separation' to be various numbers of words, and which also dealt with the difficulty of the different status of intervening material by firstly treating the infinitive subject as contributing to an 'intervening element', and secondly as not doing so. But in no case was any of the contingency tables remotely significant (indeed, χ^2 is always less than 1, hence, with $df = 1$, $p > 0.30$). Similar results follow when contingency tables are produced for the total of all the three structures: none of the tables is near significance (χ^2 is always less than 2.5, hence, with $df = 1$, $p > 0.10$).

In none of this is there any real justification for rejecting the null hypothesis that the presence of an intervening element is, as a general rule, unimportant for the occurrence of FOR TO. But the lack of significance of the tables may well be partly because of the low total incidence of FOR TO. The proportion of FOR TO V which occurs in reasonably separated contexts is generally roughly twice that of TO V. So it may seem plausible to suggest that the presence of an

intervening element is a factor, though not a very important one, in the selection of FOR TO.

We may contrast the apparent significance of this factor in the Chaucerian corpus examined by Quirk and Svartvik (1970 p 403). They examined infinitives which occurred after transitive verbs where the infinitive had no separate subject, and found the proportion of FOR TO V which occurred in reasonably separated contexts to be not roughly twice that of TO V as in parallel cases in the corpus, but well over four times that of TO V: a rather considerable difference between the two kinds of language. Quirk and Svartvik discuss this selection of FOR TO simply in terms of separation. However, there is a striking difference between the Chaucer corpus and the sermon corpus in that in Chaucer two of the main types of intervening element are the object and the prepositional object/complement of the infinitive (Quirk and Svartvik 1970 p 404). In the sermon corpus, however, no such preposed elements are found in these postverbal infinitives. We must immediately wonder whether the difference in the proportionate incidence of FOR TO is in part a result of the different type of intervening element, and whether the selection of FOR TO is crucially connected not so much with separation as with the fronting of material from within the infinitive clause. This is a point to which I shall return below, after considering the topic of infinitive marking in conjoined infinitives.

4.4.2 Conjoined infinitives show the operation of two factors isolated by Quirk and Svartvik (1970) in a slightly different form. They report that in the conjoined infinitives of their Chaucerian corpus, "there is usually ellipsis of the infinitive marker; the next most common second element after a marked first infinitive is a repetition of the

first form." (p 403) and the sermon corpus shows parallel tendencies, as can be seen readily enough from this table which gives the incidence of ZERO, TO and FOR TO in the second infinitive of conjoined pairs of infinitives.

First Infinitive	Second Infinitive			
	ZERO V	TO V	FOR TO V	
ZERO V	5	0	0	5
TO V	42	50	0	92
FOR TO V	4	2	1	7
	51	52	1	104

Besides the examples here considered there are 19 with three or more infinitives, and 7 in which an infinitive is conjoined with a noun phrase. Two of these extra examples are worth noting because they contain FOR TO V following a plain infinitive and TO V.

(12) i.12.6 For þere witt is sett to spuyle and to accuse,
and not for to helpe hem ne oper men, ...

(13) ii.82.27 For to fewe men ben now, þat ne þei hadden
levere heere and lerne veyne lore biside þis, þan
for to lerne þe lore of Crist; ...

Despite the low incidence of ZERO and FOR TO here it seems both that the identity of the first member of a pair of infinitives is a factor in the selection of the second infinitive marker, and that there is a clear tendency to use less marked forms in the second infinitive, as shown by the high incidence of ZERO and the low incidence of FOR TO in second position. Thus the same tendencies appear as in Chaucer, but their relative value is reversed. In WSerE a marked first infinitive is more commonly followed by a marked infinitive, which is the opposite of the situation in Chaucer; in fact Chaucer uses an unmarked infinitive after a marked one proportionately twice as

frequently as the Wyclifite corpus does. The Chaucerian corpus also differs in making a freer use of conjoined FOR TO than the sermon corpus.

One major factor has however been thus far left out of account in this discussion of conjoined infinitives, and that is the importance of material intervening between a conjunction (AND, BUT, OR, PAN) and a following subjectless infinitive. This is very relevant to any discussion of the function separation from matrix verb plays in motivating stronger infinitive marking, since when Ohlander (1941) claimed for the opposition ZERO : (FOR) TO that (FOR) TO was favoured by separation he made his case very largely from instances where the (FOR) TO infinitive occurred in coordination, considering otherwise only instances with premodals. As he himself remarks, in many cases "the second infinitive does not follow immediately on the coordinating conjunction but is preceded by a word-group ... subordinate to the infinitive, ..." (p 60). And in WSerE it is indeed precisely with conjoined infinitives that do not directly follow their conjunction that (FOR) TO is most likely. This table shows the correlation between infinitive marking and the presence of material between conjunction and following subjectless infinitive:

	ZERO V	(FOR) TO V	
Conjunction ... Infinitive	9	19	28
Conjunction - Infinitive	66	57	123
	75	76	151

$$\chi^2 = 4.22, df = 1, p < .05$$

(if we restricted ourselves to conjoined complement infinitives the result would be more significant). In many cases here the intervening material is indeed 'subordinate to the infinitive', though it is not exclusively so. This result is not merely a secondary effect of the importance of other kinds of separation: figures for the occurrence of ZERO : (FOR) TO with a conjoined infinitive correlated with separation from preceding infinitive, or with separation from matrix verb, or with the distance between preceding infinitive and conjunction are quite insignificant and not even suggestive of influence. We can then feel confident that it is the presence of material between conjunction and infinitive which is important here, rather than any other factor. A similar result for the opposition TO : FOR TO is not demonstrable but numbers here are low.

It seems that infinitives after conjunctions may be something of a special case, and we may wonder why this should be so. There may be an explanation in the perceptual needs of hearers, if we reflect on the difficulty of processing conjoined infinitive phrases such as CONJUNCTION - PP/NP - VP at the end of the fourteenth century. There are two obvious inappropriate options open to a hearer. He may take NP/PP to be the conjoined element, or he may take it that a conjoined sentence is involved, with NP its subject or NP/PP a fronted element and verb in second position. It must be, therefore, that the perceptual difficulty of a conjoined infinitive is in general increased when it is separated from its conjunction by nominal elements or by typically sentence-initial adverbial elements. Hence the general value of some clear indication that an infinitive is involved in such

structures. Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that instances after conjunctions are special, and the result of the adaptation of language to serve quite specific needs: we should not simply appeal to some general notion of 'separation', nor can we reasonably treat such structures as supporting the generalization that separation leads to increased infinitive marking.

Since the marking of one traditional 'separated' infinitive type has shown itself open to another explanation, at least in the sermon corpus, it must seem possible that similar explanations may be available elsewhere, and we may immediately suspect a further special factor, partly overlapping with the one just considered, namely that a stronger form of marking (FOR TO rather than TO, TO rather than ZERO) is used when some material is fronted within the infinitive clause. This is not something that can be shown from WSerE; rather it is an idea which arises in the first place from a comparison of infinitive marking in WSerE and Chaucer. Quirk and Svartvik find that the incidence of FOR TO in subjectless infinitives as verbal complement in Chaucer is high, and they attribute this effect to 'separation' (1970 p 403). However as noted above they list as the main types of element preceding the infinitive largely nominal elements which are members of the subordinate clause (p 404). Ohlander too, makes the point explicitly for (FOR) TO in conjoined infinitives, as quoted above. However, a consideration of the ME infinitives in Visser III.1 §§1177-1194 does not lead to a clear result. There is a statistically significant correlation here between the choice of FOR TO over TO and the fronting of some element, typically nominal; but fronting is

proportionately commoner among ZERO- than among (FOR) TO-infinitives, though examples here tend to be earlier than with (FOR) TO, and the basis for Visser's 'selection' of examples is not explained (Visser III.1 p 1312). But despite this, it certainly seems worth entertaining the idea that what motivates stronger infinitive marking is the fronting of some element within VP. If this is so then we can say that the difference between the Chaucer corpus and the sermon corpus was not so much that conditions on infinitive marking were different, and 'separation' more likely to result in FOR TO in Chaucer, as simply that Chaucer makes a considerable use of infinitive phrases containing fronted material, with a consequent higher incidence of FOR TO, whereas in WSerE such fronting is relatively uncommon. The suggestion is attractive because it would certainly make good sense to suggest that an infinitive marker, and particularly the unambiguous marker FOR TO, would be favoured in instances where the unmarked infinitive might be perceptually confusing; and there does indeed seem to be a rather high proportion of fronted nominal elements eg in the examples of Ohlander (1941) or Visser (III.1 §1177-1194, §1731). However, the very different incidence particularly of FOR TO in various texts in LME must be born in mind in any suggestion of possible wider significance in these results.

4.4.3 It is interesting that in the two restricted constructions of §4.3 which prefer FOR TO there is fronted material, and we might wonder whether FOR TO is to be particularly associated more generally with fronting, and not merely with fronting within the infinitive clause. There is however another more plausible possibility if we consider

the value of FOR TO for a hearer of WSerE. It seems that FOR TO occurs preponderantly in cases where the NP which most closely precedes it is not its subject, although that might be regarded as a fairly general rule for TO-infinitives. This failure of the most closely preceding NP to be the infinitive subject is very often the case with adjuncts, and it holds most strikingly for the two constructions just referred to which prefer FOR TO in WSerE. It is presumably also true for many of the examples of Quirk and Svartvik's Table 8 (1970 p 404), but perhaps not for the verbs of their §6.2. Maybe then we might venture to suggest that one of the functions of FOR TO as infinitive marker in WSerE was that of indicating those sequences of (P)NP(...) infinitive which are 'marked' structures in that the preceding NP is not to be taken as infinitive subject, and we might attribute the preference which the various structures noted above show for FOR TO to this fact as much as to any other.

4.4.4 Conclusion.

This section has been concerned with several factors which seem likely to control infinitive marking in WSerE. The extent to which each played a truly independent part is difficult to assess, but it seems likely enough that each had some importance. In conjoined infinitives we can point both to a tendency for a succeeding infinitive to continue the marking of the first, and to a tendency for its marking to be reduced. These tendencies were also found in Chaucer, though with somewhat different results. The separation of an infinitive from its matrix verb, while of some importance at least for the opposition ZERO : (FOR) TO, is probably not as important a

factor as has sometimes been implied. In conjoined infinitives the choice of (FOR) TO over ZERO correlates not with separation from the matrix verb but with the presence of some material between conjunction and infinitive, and it seems that we must treat conjoined infinitives as a special case, which require clearer marking because of the additional perceptual difficulty involved when some element intervenes. Granted this, we may go on to make two more interesting but speculative suggestions. The first is that increased infinitive marking at least in the opposition FOR TO : TO may prove to be associated not so much with 'separation' of matrix verb and infinitive, as with the fronting of some element within the infinitive phrase. The second is that the function of FOR TO as marked member within the opposition FOR TO : TO is perhaps often to indicate those structures where the most immediately preceding NP is not to be taken as the infinitive subject.

4.5 Conclusion

There are three points of especial interest and perhaps more general application among the series of conclusions to this chapter. The first is the syntactic isolation of a class of premodals in WSerE by criteria which parallel those isolating PE modals, including the regular occurrence of ZERO marking of an infinitive in contact. This is presumably to be seen as a structural signal which is partly a consequence of the lack of contrast with NP. Interestingly CUNNE and WILLE seem to show the characteristics both of premodals and of ordinary verbs. The second point of particular interest is the rather surprising fact that FOR TO is no more frequent in purpose adjuncts than in adjuncts more generally, both in the sermon corpus and in

Quirk and Svartvik's Chaucerian corpus. Thirdly, it seems that separation from matrix verb has perhaps been over simply appealed to as a factor motivating the occurrence of (FOR) TO over ZERO and FOR TO over TO. While it seems indeed to be a factor in WSerE, it looks as if we can point to preciser forms of conditioning which are sometimes responsible for the effects attributed to separation. Thus it seems quite possible that the fronting of material within the infinitive phrase, or the intervention of material between a conjunction and a following infinitive will provide quite specific motivation for more marked infinitive forms, appropriately since they must make for increased perceptual difficulty. It is possible too that FOR TO in WSerE has among other functions that of typically marking structures where the most immediately preceding NP is not the subject of the infinitive. These different suggested possibilities seem likely to give a better account of the incidence of infinitive marking for WSerE than does the simple postulation of the effects of separation.

The other more detailed conclusions about the sermon corpus are rapidly summarized. ZERO infinitives are much less common than in Chaucer, but the proportionate incidence of TO and FOR TO is not unlike that of Chaucer's De Consolatione Philosophiae, and as in Chaucer, such marking is under both lexical and grammatical control. Lexically, matrix verbs seem to show various preferences among the markers. Grammatically ZERO occurs with premodals, and FOR TO tends to occur in several structures: in adjuncts generally, with BE plus infinitive of obligation and very strikingly in the construction with BE GOOD, NEDEFUL, HARD etc plus infinitive where again the subject of BE is

in an object or oblique relation to the following infinitive. Here perhaps it is related to prepositional FOR NP structures. Overall, the grammatical control of infinitive marking is clearer than is the case in Chaucer.

There is a partial parallel to the Chaucerian corpus of Quirk and Svartvik (1970) in that the marking of conjoined infinitives shows the same two tendencies: firstly, for the conjoined infinitive to share the marking of the infinitive which precedes, and secondly towards a less marked infinitive in this position. The relative importance of these two tendencies in Chaucer's language is however reversed in the sermon corpus. There is also a tendency for an infinitive separated from its matrix verb to be marked by (FOR) TO rather than ZERO, and perhaps a weaker tendency for marking by FOR TO rather than TO. But in conjoined infinitives it is not separation from the matrix verb, but separation from the conjunction which leads to marking by (FOR) TO rather than ZERO.

5.0 Introduction

The preceding three chapters have dealt with several major topics, and in this chapter I will turn to a more general description of the complement system, relying in part on chapters 2-4 and recapitulating where necessary. The first part of this chapter, §5.1, will discuss the structures, complementizers and major rules involved in the derivation of complement clauses. Then in the second section, §5.2, a summary of the occurrence of complement clauses in the corpus will be presented. Finally in §5.3 an attempt is made to delineate the semantic domain of the different complement clause types found in WSerE. This leaves three less central topics for discussion in chapters 6-8: the development of (NP TO VP) constructions with certain verbs, the occurrence of NE in 'double negative' sentences, and finally the grammar of the deverbal -ING nominal.

5.1 Structures, Complementizers and Major Transformations

5.1.1 Deep structures.

We have seen that complement clauses are best treated as instances of NP-complementation, with the exception of the premodals which may show VP-complementation. Appropriate deep structures, then, will place complement clauses within NP as subject, object and oblique object, and within PP as object and oblique object, as was illustrated for PE in §1.8, although a rule of PREPOSITION DELETION will remove preclausal prepositions in all but a very few cases. Clauses may also appear in deep NPs which have nominal heads, discussed in §5.2.2, and in the sentence type of (1), discussed in §5.1.6.

- (1) i.407.10 whanne a man knowip þe makere above,
how he is riche wipouten eende, and we ben pore
beggeris, ...

5.1.2 Complementizers and basic distinctions between complement clauses.

Complement clauses may be classified as being finite or nonfinite, and introduced by a WH-word or not. This gives a basic division into 4 types of which the nonfinite WH-clause is not exemplified in the corpus (see Visser II §925 for ME examples). *PAT* is the unmarked complementizer for all finite clauses. It occurs not only with WH-words and phrases in indirect questions (and relatives) but also with other conjunctions: *3IF*, *LESTE* and prepositional conjunctions: *AFTIR*, *BIFORE*, *FOR*, *SIP*, *TIL*. Although it may be true historically that *PAT* was used to turn prepositions into conjunctions (Jespersen MEG part 3, 2.2₁), it is rather the case in the corpus that sequences *P PAT* are uncommon with prepositions which are not also conjunctions. *BUT PAT* 'except that ...' (ii.252.5) and *ON PAT* (ii.90.15) occur, but with *IN* and *BY* the normal construction is *PAT PAT* with a preceding cataphoric *PAT*. Synchronically, then, it seems that we should say that *PAT* may be freely used after subordinating pronouns and conjunctions (including those which are also prepositions) rather than that *PAT* may be used with prepositions to give conjunctions. In conjoined clauses *PAT* may stand as a reduced form of the conjunction. The only possible example of this with a complement clause in the corpus is at i.167.36* (and cf i.381.24).

* i.167.36. MS punctuation is as follows:
/Pou maist knowe þat þis man is oper a bishop or in sich office/ but
wheper he shal wende to hevene: God haf hid þe knowinge fro þee. and
sip after þat he is man of holi Chirche. or a lyme of þe fend: it is
well seid (etc)
?'and next after it, whether he is a man of holy church or a limb of
the fiend ...'

Within finite clauses there are further distinctions to be drawn: one possibly between 'indirect speech' and 'indirect clause' (§3.1.4); one between the indicative mood and the subjunctive, and then between the subjunctive and shulde (§3.4); in WH-clauses we must distinguish indirect questions and indirect exclamations, and both from headless relatives (§3.3), while the special use of HOW to introduce a summary or narrative has been pointed out (§3.3.3). The occurrence of direct speech is clearly closely related to finite clauses, and it may similarly be introduced by PAT (§3.1.3). Two transformations are required for finite clauses: WH MOVEMENT which fronts a WH NP or PP within a question (direct or indirect), placing it before PAT (if present) in indirect questions;* and PAT DELETION which simply deletes PAT at the head of a finite clause under conditions discussed in §3.2, and which vary depending on whether the clause is \pm WH.

Nonfinite complements raise problems about their complementizer and derived structure discussed in chapter 2. We saw there that at least some nonfinite clauses must have an oblique case complementizer and connex (NP TO VP), though it is a possibility that there are also structures with RAISED NP. Nonfinite clauses may be divided into those which preserve a subject in surface structure, and those where an indefinite subject is not realized, or a rule of EQUI NOUN PHRASE DELETION has removed the subject. The nonfinite verb does not show tense and HAVE as a tense/aspect marker is rare (except after premodals).

* Two curious examples of the order PAT ... WH are found: perhaps PAT is cataphoric in the first, or perhaps they are errors:

ii.56.4 Bokis seien pat [sic MS], binepe bileve, how Adam sette many kindis of pe fruyte pat he eet of, ...

i.124.3 First axip Crist 'pat who of hem shal reprove him of synne; ...' [MS correctly reproduced, punctuation after Crist]

John 8.46 Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato?

There are no instances in the corpus, but see i.76.10, i.312.11 outside it. WSerE is here sharply different from "the London documents of Chaucer's time" described by Mustanoja (1960 p 517) in which "the perfect infinitive is common". The oppositions ZERO : (FOR)TO and TO : FOR TO have been discussed in chapter 4. Although ZERO may signal VP-complementation with premodals, it seems more generally to be simply a reduction of TO, as FOR TO is a strengthening, each prone to occur in particular contexts. This may be dealt with by a rule which deletes or strengthens infinitive marking. A further rule which deletes TO BE and has the effect of destroying subordinate clause structure will result in the sequence NP PRED, though this has other sources too (see §5.1.5).

The problems of the interrelationship between finite and nonfinite complements were discussed in §2.3. There is some distributional warrant for a special relationship which would derive some surface non-finite complements from deep finites, but the arguments against seem stronger. The 'special relationship' is not sufficiently general, and incorporating it into the grammar would lead to a more abstract system which could not be generally justified, with ad hoc restrictions at a considerable remove from surface distributional facts. Methodologically it seems preferable to depart from surface contrasts as little as possible, unless there is good reason. So the distinction between finite and nonfinite complements has been taken to be basic, and the transformations of RAISING, OBJECT RAISING and EQUI are seen as restricted to nonfinite complements.

Complementizers beyond those discussed above are only doubtfully found. The possibility that TO is a complementizer has been discussed,

and rejected, in §2.1.4.2. With finite clauses BUT and LESTE occur as complementizers elsewhere in ME, but not in the corpus (or in WSerE to my knowledge) though both introduce adverbial clauses. WSerE prefers *þat* NE to BUT (see chapter 7), and the occurrence of LESTE after DREDE at i.201.11 is probably adverbial. IF occurs as a WH-word on one occasion, but it is also possibly though doubtfully a separate complementizer with IT BE NO WOUNDER in i.173.14, i.380.20. AS may occur before PRED in NP PRED, but it is also found three times before a clause where though possibly a complementizer, it is better taken as adverbial.

- (2) i.22.3 *þe parable telliþ 'how a man hadde a fermour,
... þat was defamyd to him as he hadde wastid his
goodis; ...'*
Luke 16.1 *Homo ... habebat villicum; et hic diffamatus
est apud illum quasi dissipasset bona ipsius.*
(cf OED Defame, v. 3)
i.23.16 is parallel; also i.15.6 with FEYNE.

Two other constructions worth noting, though not to be included here, are WHAN-clauses ('in the circumstances in which' OED When, adv. 8) in apposition to NP or after BE ('occur, take place' OED Be, v. B.2), and FOR-clauses in apposition to or as predicates after CAUSE, ENCHESOUN, SKILE.

- (3) i.16.15 *'þe first maner of ire is whan a man is
wrappid wiþouten resoun, ...'*
- (4) i.39.19 *þe secounde bitokeneþ þe secounde synne,
whan a man to wickide wille putteþ to a wickide
dede, ...*
- (5) i.7.19 *þre causis þere ben whi þis hevenly leche
resseyvede freely þes synful men and eet wiþ hem, -
ffirst, for he wolde converte hem ...*
- (6) i.7.27 *þe þridde cause is, - for Crist wolde shewe
his general lordship and savynges ...*

5.1.3 Major transformations affecting complement structures.

5.1.3.1 SUBJECT RAISING.

A transformational relationship between PE clausal and 'split subject' complements corresponding to (7) and (8) has generally been proposed, whether formalized as a rule of RAISING (Postal 1974), or NP MOVEMENT (Chomsky 1973), or in some other way.

- (7) i.202.28 it semeþ þat sich freris ben cause of
þis dissencioun.

- (8) i.167.28 siche men semen to do yvel, ...

RAISING (and similar formulations) replace a deeper clause by its subject noun phrase, and place the rest of the clause at the end of the matrix verb phrase as an infinitival phrase: see §1.8. This analysis is typically extended to object clauses. In §2.1 we have seen that surface NP TO VP corresponding to one place in deep structure is not generally to be analyzed as the result of such a rule in WSerE, though evidence from outside WSerE suggests that such a rule may be required in ME. The evidence for a rule of RAISING to subject in WSerE is stronger, though not copious, and it seems clear that we should postulate such a rule to deal with the distributional equivalence of 'split subject' NP ... TO VP and ÞAT-clause.

This equivalence is only shown unambiguously by SEME and by the 'second passives' of verbs of knowing, thinking and saying, as in (9); cf the 'first' passive of (10).

- (9) ii.366.9 Þat man is seid to figte wiþ fleishe,
þat temperiþ it in bodili foode; ...

- (10) ii.70.21 It is comunli seid þat þis man is Jesus
Crist, ...

SEME is found with the following constructions:

NP SEME (TO NP) (not in the corpus; cf OED Seem, v.² 5,6.)

NP SEME (TO NP) PRED

NP SEME (TO NP) TO VP

IT SEME (TO NP) ꝥAT S

There is no distributional difference between the types of subject and verb phrase found in finite and nonfinite constructions which would suggest that SEME selected its subject in NP SEME TO VP, or that the infinitive was restricted, while the element PRED is apparently very freely chosen, cf §5.1.5. Thus passives may occur in ꝥAT S, TO VP and PRED (though here only found conjoined with an adjective; cf also (143) below).

(11) ii.240.16 it semep to many breþeren in God ꝥat
þe Chirche ꝥat wandriþ here is maad þral by
mannis lawe, ...

(12) i.229.15 And þis semep to many men to be seid
of false freris.

(13) i.274.11 þes wordis of Crist, ꝥat semen unsavery,
and rehersid wiþouten witt, ...

It seems reasonable to suppose that SEME is subcategorized to permit an abstract sentential subject resulting in the desentential structures above, and this implies an analysis incorporating the equivalence NP ... TO VP = IT ... ꝥAT S. Indeed, if we take the categorization of clauses as NP seriously, it implies RAISING to subject and not an NP MOVEMENT analysis. The alternatives are more complex and ad hoc. It seems, moreover, that the distributional equivalence NP ... TO VP = IT ... ꝥAT S is actively involved in the extension of nonfinite clauses with verbs of knowing, thinking and saying (see chapter 6 for

details), and it must therefore have been somehow a part of LME grammar. (For further examples of LME 'second passives' see Visser III.2 §§2137, 2139, 2183 and 2184 but not all of his examples belong here.) Here the equivalence is most simply formulated as RAISING to subject (or perhaps as NP MOVEMENT): an analysis which involved only RAISING to object would not only be more complex, it might also imply the existence of RAISING to subject in the language anyway (Postal 1974 p 386). But the basic point to focus on is not so much the particular mechanism posited as the undoubted equivalence between (IT) ... \bar{P} AT S and NP ... TO VP in this restricted range of cases.

There are no other clear cases of this 'split subject' equivalence in the corpus. It may perhaps have been involved in the derivation of certain sentences with premodals (see §4.2) or with TO BE TO indicating futurity; there are possible examples with NEDE (ii.239.23, but parallels permit an EQUI analysis) and (outside the corpus) with BE CERTEYNE:

- (14) i.142.25 he is certeyne to lyve evere in blis ...
 ?'he is confident of living eternally in bliss' -
 but 'certain to live' is better in context; cf
 Chaucer De Cons Phil 4 prose 4.57 thilke wrecchid-
 nesse ... is certein to ben perdurable.

With other verbs whose PE parallels have sometimes been analysed as having a 'split subject' construction, eg BEGYNNE, CEESE, FAILE, LETTE 'cease', LEVE 'cease', there is ME evidence for two place structures and no satisfactory support for a RAISING analysis. With the impersonal expressions FALLE, BE GOOD, NEDE there is indeed evidence of the kind of neutralization which has been suggested as important for the development of the 'split subject' construction (recently, eg, by Lightfoot 1977 p 212), and such a development may be implied by the following two examples:

- (15) i.260.19 þis just man ... takip fro þis uniuste
man þat þat him semeþ to have; ...
- (16) i.261.3 þis gospel seiþ þat unjust man haþ not
sich þing, and þe gospel of Mathew seiþ þat him
semeþ to have it; ...
Matt 25.29 quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo.
EV that that he semeth to have, shal be taken
fro hym.
LV that that hym semeth to have, schal be taken
away fro him.

(for similar variation in Chaucer see Kenyon 1909 pp 126-7). Such neutralization in impersonal verbs and the loss of the impersonal construction was clearly important for the spread of the 'split subject' construction, whether or not it was responsible for its initial establishment. Up to 5 out of 7 corpus NP VERB TO VP examples with FALLE and NEDE are neutralized, beside the clearly established NP ... TO VP with SEME (8 examples) and two 'second passives' with SEIE.

5.1.3.2 OBJECT RAISING or DELETION.

WSerE shows the same double interrelation in adjective constructions as we find in PE between on the one hand It is easy to grow tomatoes ~ Tomatoes are easy to grow and on the other Dinner is ready to eat ~ Dinner is ready. The first type has been the subject of a debate between analyses which raise the object of the sentential subject into subject position and which delete the object of the infinitive under identity (cf Lees 1960a, Huddleston 1971 and references in Lightfoot 1977). The second type must be dealt with by deletion. Examples from WSerE are:

- (17) i.183.13 and þis purpos is nedeful Cristen men to
have.
cf i.243.18 it is needful to figte wip men ...
i.191.10 'Ech of hem þat wolde make an nedeful
tour, shulde sitte first and acounte dispensis
nedeful herefore ...'
i.134.4 Þe þridde vertue nedeful for to take
þis sacrament is vertue of charite; ...
- (18) ii.42.6 pees is good for to have, and also it is
good to have þis pees bi Cristis meenes.
cf MED *gōd* adj. 2.(c) gōd to 'good for (a use or
a purpose)'
- (19) i.184.27 þis sentence is hard for to trowe, ...
cf i.37.13 But it is ful hard to have siche
riȝt entent, ...
- (20) ii.224.31 ... Poulis wordis passen oþere writingis
in two þingis - þei ben pure, sutil, and plentevous
[sic MS] to preche þe puple.
- (21) ii.85.7 'Lo, I seie to ȝou, lifte up ȝour eiȝen,
and se þe contreis, for þei ben now white to repe.'
John 4.35 quia albae sunt jam ad messem.
- (22) ii.17.9 þer weye was ful slidir for to go to hevene
inne, ...
cf i.376.4 for another example (with BE HARD)
which involves a NP after a preposition.

It seems that we must suppose that WSerE has the two types found in PE with instances of neutralization. Semantically (20)-(22) seem clearly to involve a predicate adjective on the subject NP with an infinitive of specification; but the following examples seem difficult to interpret except as involving an adjective predicated of the infinitive plus object:

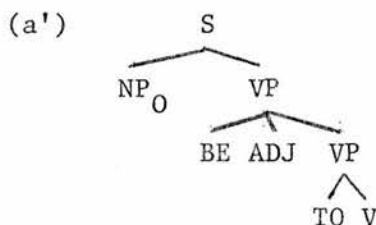
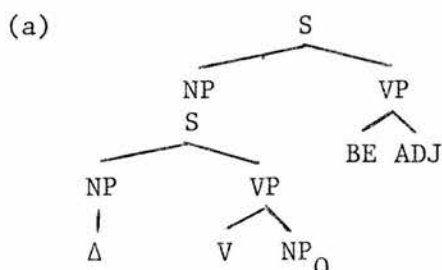
- (23) i.299.10 children ... ben ... liȝt to norishe
in Goddis lawe, ...
- (24) i.309.1 Þat þei ben more holden bi þis dowyng
is liȝt to prove bi mannys lawe; ...
- (25) ii.273.31 And þes two synnes ben ful comoun, and
nedeful to warne folk of.
(but ?cf OED *Needful*, a. 2.b. 'Standing in need
of sth.' 1432-)

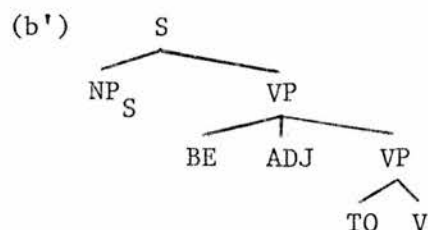
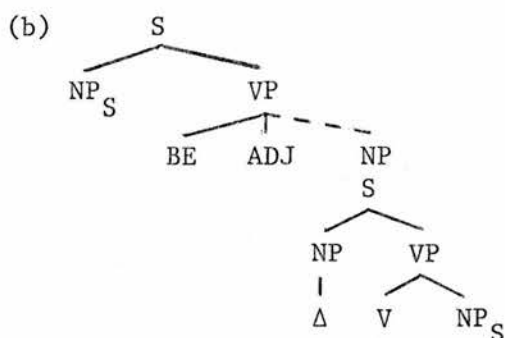
On the other hand most of the adjectives which occur here seem to occur with an abstract PP following (very dubiously with HARD, LI3T), which might imply an analysis with two places in deep structure: cf the references with NEDEFUL and GOOD above. Moreover some may occur appropriately in context without the following TO VP. The clearest instance for OBJECT RAISING apart from HARD, LI3T is BE of obligation with which we find the structures:

(26) i.114.35 it were to wite þe moral sense of
þese wordis, ...

(27) i.91.37 and chiding of ydiotis, ... is for to scorne
and to leve to foolis.

It seems reasonable to suggest that the structure (a) may underlie BE of obligation, HARD, LI3T and certain examples with GOOD, NEDEFUL etc (eg (17) and ?(18) above), and that OBJECT RAISING yields (a'). This is neutralized with the structure (b'), which is derived from a two place deep structure by deletion: (b) underlies examples with SLIDIR, WHITE, PLENTEVOUS and others with GOOD, NEDEFUL, etc. Thus we find adjectives which occur with the structure NP BE ADJ TO V — but not with IT BE ADJ TO VP: with them ADJ is a predicate on NP. We find other adjectives which may occur with both structures, and here the construction NP BE ADJ TO V — ranges from cases where ADJ is a predicate on NP to cases where the two surface structures seem effectively equivalent.





5.1.3.3 EQUI NOUN PHRASE DELETION.

An infinitive which occurs without subject may be interpreted as having one of two kinds of subject: an indefinite subject (sometimes perhaps to be further specified in context), or a subject identical to a particular NP associated with the matrix expression. For PE this second relationship has often been dealt with by a rule which deletes a NP when it occurs under the 'control' of the specified NP and is identical to it: the problem of predicting which NP is specified as the 'controller' has been variously approached, and since WSerE here seems largely to parallel PE will not be dealt with separately (cf Jackendoff 1972, Rosenbaum 1967a and Postal 1974).

The instances where a NP in a grammatical relation to the matrix expression supplies the subject of TO VP may be straightforwardly classified in terms of their structures (where individual lexical items may belong to none, one or more of these categories):

(a) The deep subject of the matrix expression supplies the subject of TO VP. This very general relationship is found with premodals, aspectual verbs, verbs of desiring, thinking etc. It is worth noting that AXE and (?)PREIE occur here as well as in type (b); see (28), ii.83.28 and ?i.218.7.

- (28) i.108.19 bei axen first of Jesus, to see wel in
 ri3t bileve.

(b) The deep object of the matrix verb supplies the subject of TO VP, with verbs of ordering, urging etc. BIHETE 'promise' occurs under (a), but it may also occur here (unless this example is monotransitive):

- (29) i.60.17 þat bihotip him to come to hevene, ...
 'which promises (him) that he will come to heaven'

(c) With expressions which take a nonfinite subject and which have an 'affected' NP, or which appear in structures which parallel those with OBJECT RAISING, the 'affected' NP controls the subject of TO VP with a few exceptions.

- (30) i.235.5 for it was fallinge to his wordis ...
 to wite, what Crist felide of þis makynge of þe
 temple.
 'for it was pertinent to his words ... to know
 what Christ felt about the construction of the
 temple,' where the retrieved subject is indefinite,
 or anaphoric to disciplis.

It seems that with these three categories quite a straightforward statement of control conditions can be made by assigning verbs and adjectives to them in a manner very similar to PE (with, eg, the same difficulties with HELPE), and that a rule of EQUI might operate in essentially the same way. In (31) and ?i.28.33 an ECH-phrase follows the object controller and could be taken as a controlled but undeleted subject:

- (31) ii.256.10 And þus God hap neded us, ech man to
 supporte his broþer, ...

Indefinite subjects occur mainly with subject TO VP and after ditransitive verbs. There are instances with AXE, NEDE, ?ORDEYNE where a potential controller is present, but apart from such structures with double control conditions possible lexically specified controllers are absent

- (32) ii.81.19 ordre axip to bigynne at þe manheed
 of Crist, ...

(except in (30) with FALLE). Interestingly there are no corpus instances with the monotransitive MAKE (see i.340.36 for one), though Visser (III.1 §1235) comments on the frequency of the construction with this verb, and Mustanoja (1960 p 145) illustrates the construction almost solely with examples containing MAKE. The indefinite subject may often be interpreted 'one,us', and is sometimes used in a context where a narrower subject might be understood.

- (33) i.404.18 'Crist preieþ not to take hem 3it
out of þe world, but to kepe hem' here ...
John 17.15 Non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo,
sed ut serves eos a malo. (where God is addressed)
- (34) ii.77.15 And to seie opynli þat þou forzyvest
þis synne in God, is an open blasfemye, but 3if
God telle þee þat he doiþ so, and bidde publishe
Goddis wille, ...
(second person subject)
- (35) ii.62.28 And þis synne techiþ Crist, whanne he
forfendide clepe to us sicke fadirs upon erþe, ...
(we occurs in previous context)
- (36) i.278.37 Lord! siþ good God 3eveþ us strengþe to
love him, and to hope in him, and þe fend mai
not lette to þenke on þis gifte of God, ...
- (37) i.247.16 wiþdrawing of her service a3en shulde
move to wiþdraw þes goodis.
- (38) ii.86.2 And sich traveil in þis hervest were worþ
to gete to blisse of hevene; ...
- (39) ii.253.1 God techiþ to knowe generaly, and to love
after þis knowyng.
- (40) ii.240.26 And þus it were a myche vertue to gete
a3en oure former fredom, ...
'for us to regain'

Thus the understood subject of TO VP may be retrieved much as may such subjects in PE when it is configurationally predictable, but TO VP with an indefinite understood subject occurs more widely than today, though its virtual absence with MAKE is unusual from a general ME point of view.

5.1.3.4 EXTRAPOSITION.

ĤPAT S and TO VP both occur as clause-initial subjects (cf §5.2.1), but otherwise the typical position of nonconjoined complement clauses (to which this discussion is confined) is after other phrases which belong to the matrix clause, but before other subordinate clauses. While typical, such a position is not exceptionless, cf (41), and see §2.2.1 for other examples with infinitives.

- (41) i.373.1 And þus Crist meeveþ to be pore bi
resoun of surete.

IT may remain in certain circumstances to mark the NP position from which a clause has been EXTRAPOSED, though this is by no means automatic, and is indeed uncommon in object position.

IT occurs in subject position in anticipation of all clause types: ĤPAT S, WH S (i.14.32; including HOW = ĤPAT ii.51.9), TO VP, (NP TO VP) (i.240.9, ii.416.29 quoted as (65) and (66) in §2.1.3.2 and ?i.257.36). We might readily suppose an EXTRAPOSITION transformation parallel to that generally suggested for PE; it would differ in that WSerE lacks preverbal IT in two types of case:

(a) When an oblique pronoun (and perhaps unmarked NP) of person 'affected' or 'interested' precedes an impersonal expression. I know of no WSerE exceptions to this statement.

- (42) i.212.24 Hem nedip neþer to fiȝte ne dispende ne
traveile, ...

- (43) i.255.28 but here we languishen for oþer havynȝ
þat us falliþ to have in hevene.

- (44) ii.89.18 holi chirche were betere þat sich japis
 weren not uside, ...
 (?or subject)

and i.149.16, ii.183.13,14, etc.

(b) When some other element (adverb, conjunction, NP, PP, adjective) precedes the finite verb we find instances both with and without IT:

- (45) i.238.15 Þerfore is nede hem to wite what dedis
 þat þei shulden do, ...
- (46) i.146.35 þerfore it were nede to hem to knowe witt
 of þes wordis.
- (47) i.217.33 and good it is þat God be sued ech
 hour of sum men; ...
- (48) i.226.10 siþ betere were bi Cristis lawe to amende
 men of his ordre, ...
- (49) ii.168.7 Of þis is seid in Mathew gospel on a
 Sunday what it menep.
- (50) ii.396.16 And þus semeþ þat Crist meenede, ...
- (51) i.235.30 sounere perils, þat was betere hem to
 knowe, ...

Thus it seems that the subject place-holding IT became categorical last when the verb was already in second place in the clause. For WSerE, then, we may regard the subject IT not as the (near) automatic consequence of EXTRAPOSITION but as conditioned by two factors: firstly, the final position of subject complement clause, secondly the presence and nature of preverbal elements.

There are no instances of place-holding IT in object position in the corpus but I know of two outside it. Not considered relevant here are examples with anaphoric IT such as (52).

- (52) i.328.11 Sum men undirstonden it, þat Rachel wepte
 in spirit ...
 'interpret this prophecy to mean that ...'

The two relevant examples are (53) and (54).

(53) ii.366.8 And so Poul þenkiþ it but litil to
figte þus wiþ fleishe and blood.

(54) i.330.3 But siþ þes seintis ben not expressid in
þe lawe of holi writt, men ben not holden to
trowe it expressli þat þes ben seintis in hevene: ...

In (53) the omission of IT would allow the unfortunate interpretation 'intends but little to fight', and in (54) IT might be loosely anaphoric. The option of such EXTRAPOSITION was rarely exercised, and instances of deep NP PRED with NP a complement clause normally simply have the order PRED NP so that the clause is final, as in other object complements:

(55) ii.226.7 And þerfore Cristene men shulden þenke
shame to cloþe hem above wiþ raggis, ...

(56) ii.103.34 þei helden a worship to God, to slee
Crist, and fordo his name; ...

(57) i.397.20 for we holden a more synne to ete and
drynke wiþ sich men þan us to do a cursid dede ...

(58) ii.233.19 Cristen men taken as bileve, þat Crist
is Lord and spouse of þe Chirche; ...

(59) i.196.26 O Lord, if a man þat traveiliþ in werre
wiþ a capteyne, wolde telle myche þat þis capteyne
wroot of him to his kyng ...

There is no sign of the obligatory IT of such PE phrases as hate it that take it that etc, and the sequence IT S is not found at the surface.

A parallel distributional relationship is found with clauses in restrictive apposition to noun phrases: see §5.2 for details. Here there is EXTRAPOSITION from various clausal functions, not just subject (or initial) position, and the sequence noun phrase - clause may appear straightforwardly at the surface.

- (60) ii.236.28 As it were a gret synne to do aȝens þe
kyngis bidding, but þe synne is more wiþouten
mesure to do aȝens Goddis bidding.
- (61) ii.85.11 'In þis is þe word soþ, þat he is oþer
þat sowiþ, and oþir is he þat repiþ.'
John 4.37 In hoc enim est verbum verum: quia ...
- (62) ii.90.9 'What signe shewist þou to us, þat þou
doist þes' maistris?
John 2.18 Quod signum ostendis nobis quia haec facis?
- (63) ii.237.5 for ellis he muste ȝyve free leewe to man
and angel for to synne, ...

In order to deal with such instances it seems that a general rule of EXTRAPOSITION is required, and we may tentatively generalize this to cover the (IT) ... S cases above, although more general rules which dispose clause elements according to 'weight' and information value may be involved too. IT will be inserted into a subject NP position vacated by S unless some other object NP occupies that position (as in impersonals) or optionally in circumstances where the verb can already be said to occupy the second position in the clause. It may also be inserted into other NP after EXTRAPOSITION. The distribution of IT is distinctive among other NPs which function cataphorically to complement clauses in that other NPs may occur immediately before the clause (as, eg, do ÞIS, ÞAT) but IT is not found in this position. This can be dealt with by the grammatical machinery just outlined.

It has been suggested that in ME complement clauses should not be generated in deep subject position, but instead at the end of VP, and that a rule of INTRAPOSITION (reversing the direction of EXTRAPOSITION) was added in LME (in the fifteenth, or perhaps the fourteenth century) (Lightfoot 1976b). A similar analysis was suggested for PE by Emonds (1970). However, Emonds (1976) has dropped his analysis and

the analysis proposed for ME by Lightfoot depends crucially on there being a major grammatical distinction between TO-infinitives and unintroduced infinitives, and, in addition, on the absence of finite clauses and TO-infinitives in subject position. But for LME the second claim is false, and the first cannot be maintained in the required form. Moreover, the implication of the discussion of §2.2.1 is that complement clauses may occur in general in NP positions. The INTRAPOSITION analysis is therefore quite unjustified for LME in general, and for WSerE in particular, and the EXTRAPOSITION analysis which Lightfoot supposes to be a later development is appropriate.

5.1.3.5 Movement from and deletion within complement clauses.

This section will not be concerned with movement and deletion that results from the operation of SUBJECT RAISING, OBJECT RAISING and EQUI which have been dealt with above, but with other movement rules and deletions.

Elements within subordinate clauses may be topicalized, or questioned and hence moved out of the clause, or they may be deleted by the process which forms relative clauses. These processes seem to be quite freely available.

Fronting of NP, PP etc:

- (64) i.31.5 For men deefid in Goddis lore he made
to heere what God spake in hem, ...
- (65) ii.224.17 and þis semeþ Poul to teche, ...
- (66) i.40.20 but upon þe ferþe synne God ceessip
never to punnishe, ...

- (67) ii.58.36 for in þis forme þat Mathew telliþ
wole God þat his Chirche rest here.
- (68) i.354.18 men ... seien þat þis is þe wille of
þe Kyng, or þus þe Kyng biddiþ to do.

QUESTION FORMATION:

- (69) Matt 16.13 LV(EV) Whom seien men to be mannus sone?
Quem dicunt homines esse Filium hominis?
- (70) i.348.28 'But Crist axide his disciplis, whom þei
seiden him to be'
Matt 16.15 Dicit illis Jesus: Vos autem quem
me esse dicitis?
- (71) i.107.15 'and whanne he cam nye, Crist axide him,
what he wolde þat Crist did to him.'
Luke 18.41 Dicens: Quid tibi vis faciam?

RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION:

- (72) i.116.2 But what man wolde by skile be þus
chastisid of his broþer, for mannis obedience
þat he doutiþ to be a fend?
'But what man would, in accordance with what
is reasonable, be thus chastised by his brother
for the sake of obedience to a man who he doubts
may be a fiend?'
- (73) i.349.25 ... Cristis Chirche which þei weenen to
distrye.
- (74) ii.348.23 oonli þei ben undir þe lawe þat þe
lawe biddiþ punishe for þer synne.
- (75) Sap 12.27 LV thei seyng him, whom thei denyeden
sum tyme hem to knowe, ...
illum, quem olim negabant se nosse, ...
- (76) i.10.29 þei done harm to men to which þei
wenen do profit; ...
- (77) i.90.5 myraclis þat he wolde weren do, ...
- (78) i.236.11 oper þing þat God wole þat men knowen
and done; ...
- (79) ii.154.35 betwixe whom þei seien is frendship
and love, ...

Here I have included two examples from the Later Version of the Wyclifite Bible for better illustration. A subject NP, an object/oblique NP/PP or an adverb may be moved, and some idea of the relative proportions of these processes may be gathered from the table. It refers to a collection from WSerE which went beyond the corpus, and was not based on a careful survey. It should, however, give a reasonable indication of proportionate occurrence. Structurally ambiguous examples and examples moving the first NP in possible NP - TO VP have not been included. There is a doubtful example of the TOPICALIZATION of a finite clause subject at i.310.18, and no examples of such movement or deletion affecting WH-clauses.

Removal of NP or PP

	TOPICALIZATION	QUESTION FORMATION	RELATIVE FORMATION
Nonfinite clause. Subject.	2	(LV)	4
Object/Oblique.	16	1	24
̢AT-clause. Subject.			19
Object/Oblique.	3	2	1

Since many nonfinite clauses have their subject removed by EQUI or unexpressed because indefinite, the greater tendency to move or delete object/oblique phrases in nonfinites is hardly surprising. The figures for ̢AT-clauses, however, are and may seem to indicate that there is a distinction here between 'chopping' processes which move NP without leaving a pronoun copy (TOPICALIZATION, QUESTION MOVEMENT) and deletion processes (RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION: all the clauses involved are introduced by ̢AT not WH, cf Bresnan's (1976a) and Grimshaw's (1975) formulation of this as a deletion process). LEFT

DISLOCATION, which moves NP but leaves a pronoun copy occurs as we would expect:

- (80) i.217.35 But neþeles devoute men þat be disposed
to preie þanne, God forbede þat þei shulden be
lettid; ...

The complementizer *þat* is always absent where a sentential subject has been removed from a *þat*-clause, with two exceptions both of relative clauses formed on the subject of the object complement of *WITE*: they are quoted and discussed in §2.3.2.2, and again may indicate a greater freedom for the deletion of a noun phrase after a complementizer than for the movement of a noun phrase in such a position.

There is also some freedom to delete semantically redundant material within a finite clause introduced by *þat* or *WH*. Since *þat* may precede direct speech, instances of *þat* + NP/PP may be taken to show this construction when with *SEIE*:

- (81) i.32.18 he axide of þis man of lawe, 'which of
þese þree men semede him to be neiþore unto þis
syke man þat þus fell into þeves handis. And
he seide, þat þe þridde man, þat dide mercy on
him.'
Luke 10.37 At ille dixit: Qui fecit misericordiam
in illum.
cf i.339.27, ii.27.27

But with verbs that do not otherwise take direct speech, as with *WH*-clauses, there must be deletion; also when there is plainly an indirect clause as in i.99.18.

- (82) ii.205.18 'And Symount answeride, and seide, Y
gesse þat he to whom he gaf more.'
Luke 7.43 Respondens Simon dixit: Aestimo,
quia is cui plus donavit.
- (83) ii.242.28 For, as þe gospel beriþ witnesse, þei
founden þe child wiþ his modir; and it is licly
þat in þe same stable þat Crist was born inne
in Bethleem; ...
- (84) ii.146.8 But þe gospel telliþ þat Crist apperide
to Petre; and it is licly þat in þis tyme.

- (85) ii.166.12 In þis gospel may men see wher freris
and oper holden þis forme in þer preching to þe
peple. But fruyt of hem shewiþ þat nay.
(cf OED Nay, adv.¹ A.4.)
- (86) ii.263.11 for Poul wiste þat he was ravishid, but
he wiste not wheþer in soule aloone.
- (87) ii.262.33 'he knowiþ a man in Crist, þat fourtene
3eer bifore was ravishid, wheþer in bodi or out
of bodi he woot nevere, but God woot.'
2 Cor 12.2 sive in corpore nescio, sive extra
corpus nescio, Deus scit ...
cf the parallel ii.263.14.
- (88) i.201.11 her dep, þat shal come, þei witen not
whanne, ...

5.1.4 Fronting and inversion within complement clauses.

Here I will discuss the fronting of elements and the occurrence of inversion within complement clauses, apart from WH MOVEMENT which will simply be taken for granted.

(a) In *Þ*AT-clauses.

The direct object and various other prepositional phrase and adverbial elements may occur fronted in *Þ*AT-clauses, and there may be subsequent inversion of subject and finite verb, as in the following examples.

- (89) i.165.13 And for þis seiþ Crist þat, 'ech braunche
þat is in him, and beriþ not fruyt, his Fadir shal
take away, ...'
John 15.2 Omnem palmitem in me non ferentem
fructum, tollet eum: ...
- (90) i.194.11 and herfore biddiþ Crist þat, 'þat he haþ
seid in derknes, þei shulden seiþ eft in list, ...'
Matt 10.27 Quod dico vobis in tenebris, dicite
in lumine: ...
- (91) i.23.32 First he grantide þat aftir þis lyf he myȝt
not wirche medefulli.
- (92) i.179.18 we bileven þat in gendrure of holi Chirche
it is þus; ...

- (93) i.194.17 þus wole Crist, þat alle þingis þat
God spekiþ to eeres of soule, shulden þese heereris
speke forþ, ...
- (94) i.109.28 þe fend wiste wele þat þis my3te God
li3tly have do, ...
- (95) i.29.30 þei conseyyeden þat bi þis shulde Crist
fully hele hym.
- (96) i.212.14 it semep þat at hem shulden men begynne
to practise, ...

Such constructions are not very common. If we consider only the first PAT-clause of any conjunction of clauses*, and omit instances where PAT introduces direct speech, where ZERO may introduce direct speech (cf the tests of §3.1.2) and where the clause initial element is an adverbial clause, we find only 24 instances in the corpus (plus two containing BE mentioned below as (118) and (119)). Eight of these 24 instances contain fronted direct object NPs, but 6 are direct reflections of the word order of the Vulgate, cf (89) and (90), and another one, (93), is clearly influenced by it. Objects occur fronted without Vulgate parallel, as in (94), but only one out of eight corpus instances is unmotivated in this way (ii.86.28). It contains, moreover, merely a fronted object phrase, whereas the seven instances which reflect Vulgate word order contain long clausal objects. By contrast the fronting of adverbial phrases occurs freely without Vulgate motivation.

It is interesting to note how very much lower the incidence of inversion of subject and finite verb is in such clauses than in main sentences. Only 4 of the 24 corpus instances show inversion, two after a direct object and two after a prepositional phrase. A survey of some 250 main clause instances showed predominant inversion after

* This section is generally concerned only with the first of any conjoined clauses.

initial object, and very common inversion after initial prepositional and adverbial phrases (not including such connective adverbs as *PUS*, *HEREFORE*) so that of 24 main clause instances with fronted object or prepositional phrase, in proportion 14 would be likely to show inversion. Thus it seems that such inversion is much less common in complement clauses than in main sentences, and but for the fact that 7 instances of fronted object NP were motivated by the Vulgate, which gives an incidence roughly comparable to that found in main sentences, the incidence of fronted object NP too would also have seemed clearly less common in complement clauses than in main sentences.

The fronting of NPs and the inversion of subject and finite verb must be 'root transformations' in the sense of Emonds (1976) since they result in structures which are not directly generable by reasonable phrase structure rules for LME. They must therefore be restricted to 'root sentences' according to his 'Structure Preserving Constraint': ie to main sentences, conjoined main sentences, direct speech and some restricted types of subordinate clause. Consequently it seems natural that such transformations should be less freely available in complement clauses than in clear 'root sentences'.

Granted that 'root transformations' may be restricted in their availability in complement clauses, what would be an appropriate characterization of the contexts which permit such movements in WSerE? Fronting of the direct object noun phrase or inversion of subject and finite verb (or both) occur after *BIDDE*, *CONSEYVE*, *SEIE*, *SEME*, *WILLE*, *WITE* (cf (89)-(96) above) and also after *CRIE*, *TELLE*, *PENKE*, *UNDIR-STONDE*, *WRITE* and after NP as in (97).

- (97) i.245.35 and þei mai not denye þis, þat ne for
blyndenesse and cowardise holdip þe fend aȝens
God þis lordship þat þei shulden have.
- (98) i.379.30 But we shal undirstonde here, þat on two
maner is Goddis word herd, ...

For PE Emonds has suggested that 'root sentences' may be characterized in terms of some notion of 'indirect discourse', which he leaves unexplicated except for the remark that the matrix constructions involved "report attitudes or statements of their subjects" (1976 p 36, and see his brief discussions pp 6-7, 23-5, 32-8). This could be said to be true for WSerE (cf the 'indirect speech' commands of §3.1.4.2). A more satisfactory approach to such sentences in PE however is that of Hooper and Thompson (1973). They extend the notion 'assertion', maintaining that the content of clauses which occur after verbs used 'parenthetically' (in the sense of Urmson 1952) is 'asserted', and that 'root transformations' may occur in 'asserted' clauses. Thus they are found with SAY, ASSERT, BE TRUE, BELIEVE, SEEM, LEARN, KNOW but not with DENY, BE POSSIBLE, REGRET, BE ODD or in certain complements with head nouns. It is fairly easy to believe that the sermon giver 'asserts' the content of the complement clause in the examples found in the corpus and elsewhere, so that though this is only a very loose test, and though there are difficulties, we might at least plausibly suggest that for WSerE 'root transformations' could occur in complement PAT-clauses when their content was 'asserted' in the appropriate extended sense.

A precisely similar loose characterization would fit two other constructions. In the first a prepositional or adverbial phrase occurs initial within a PAT-clause. This is found both with and without

subsequent inversion. For examples with inversion see (95)-(98), for examples without: (91), (92) and (99)-(102).

- (99) ii.58.7 many men supposen þat in blis men han
noo cloþis, ...
- (100) ii.245.27 For we reden þus of Crist, þat in him
it plesid wel to þe Fadir.
(?adverbial)
- (101) i.299.19 þei bringen her cuppe and her spone,
in tokene þat to drynke and pulment þei ben
oblisid bifore oper; ...
'(Men in endowed orders) bring their cup and their
spoon, as a sign that they are pledged to drink
and pottage before anything else ...'
- (102) ii.262.29 For oure bileve techiþ us þat fro þe tyme
of þe day of dome men shulen se in Goddis Sone
þingis þat bifore weren hidde, ...

The matrix verbs with which such reordering occurs are: BIDDE, BIHETE, BILEVE, DREDE, GRAUNTE, KNOWE, RENOUNSE 'declare', SEIE, SUPPOSE, TECHE, TELLE. The distribution must make it likely that such fronting is also to be characterized as a 'root transformation'. In the second construction an initial NP is followed by a pronoun. One example containing a fronted object with inversion of subject and finite verb has been included in the eight discussed above at the beginning of this section. The rest involve an initial subject followed by resumptive pronoun, and occur after BE KNOWUN (ÞING), SEIE and WITE. In PE this structure is generally derived by a transformation called LEFT DISLOCATION, and it is treated as a 'root transformation' by Emonds (1976 p 32-4). The same may well be true of WSerE.

- (103) i.179.6 It is knowun þing in kynde, and in
sentence þat clerkis tellen, þat þe whete corn
whan it is sowun and wel hilid wiþ erþe, it takiþ
not a newe foorme, ...
- (104) ii.257.38 'Witen ge not þat þei þat rennen in þe
ferlong' for þe pris, 'certis þei rennen all, ...'
1 Cor 9.24 Nescitis quod ii qui in stadio
currunt, omnes quidem currunt, ...

(b) Placement of subject final, especially in WH-complements.

In WH-clauses there are no examples of such fronted NPs or PPs. Inversion of subject and finite verb occurs in conjoined clauses assigned (in §3.1.4.2) to a possible category of 'indirect speech', and in a restricted sentence type which I shall suggest below does not show a 'root transformation'. Thus normal WH-clauses do not seem to permit 'root transformations'. There is, however, one example with adverb initial:

- (105) ii.81.33 And so it is nedeful to men to knowe,
how ofte breed is taken.
'It is necessary for men to know how bread is
frequently interpreted.'

This example may indicate that this position for adverbs is not the result of a 'root transformation', but I do not know of another to parallel it.

Particularly in WH-clauses there occur instances of an inversion (found most commonly with BE) which seems to be best characterized as a placing of the subject NP clause-final immediately after the verbal group. Some examples follow.

- (106) ii.263.16 Many musen what wordis weren þes; ...
- (107) i.32.2 'But þis lawier wolde justifie himsilf, and
þerfore he axide, who was his neigbore.'
Luke 10.29 Ille autem volens justificare seipsum,
dixit ad Jesum: et quis est meus proximus?
- (108) ii.70.8 'And þis eldere sone clepide oon of þe
servauntis, and axide what weren þes þingis.'
Luke 15.26 et interrogavit quid haec essent.
(note that Vulgate word order is not reproduced.
?direct speech with were)
- (109) ii.230.29 for þat disposiþ to knowe what is Goddis
wille; ...
- (110) i.13.23 It is noo nede to depe us in þis stori more
þan þe gospel telliþ, as it is no nede to bisie us
what hiȝt Tobies hound.

Other examples at: i.156.11, i.190.4, i.241.9, i.376.6, ii.83.33, ii.245.28; with MENE i.102.28 (?direct = Luke 8.9 which is indirect).

In individual cases, particularly with AXE, it may be that we have here further instances of the category of 'indirect speech' discussed in §3.1.4.2. But it seems that reordering within the subordinate indirect clause for reasons of 'weight' must also be involved. In the first place we find that the order in subordinate clauses places the verbal group and not just the finite verb after the WH-phrase; cf (111) and (112):

(111) ii.52.3 but Crist tolde in what signe shulde be
shewid his meknesse.

(112) i.355.2 'and þouȝte', as a wise maiden, 'what manere
shulde be þis greting'.
Luke 1.29 cogitabat qualis esset ista salutatio.

Secondly, these clauses occur where no direct speech parallel is available (eg after KNOWE, WITE), and finally, BE is the verb mainly involved, and with it failures of inverted order occur mainly with pronouns, so an interpretation in terms of weight reordering is appropriate. Note the contrasts (113):(114) and (115):(116) and (117).

(113) i.326.4 he shulde axe Crist which was he þat shul
traye Crist, as Crist hadde seid.

(114) i.348.9 And þus 'axide' Crist here, for greet witt
þat was in him, among 'his disciplis, who he was,'
bi his manhede.
Matt 16.13, but not a translation.

(115) i.350.11 And so it were nede here to wite what is holy
Chirche, and what ben þe keies of hevene, or whanne
prestis bynden or unbynden.

(116) ii.57.1 'But þis man þat was maad hool wiste not which
þis man was.'
John 5.13 ... nesciebat quis esset.

- (117) i.325.24 for þanne tolde Crist, but comunli, þat oon
of hem shulde traye him; and Petir wolde wite which
þat he were.

The best general statement seems to be that the order WH-phrase - verbal group - NP is available as an alternative to WH-phrase - NP - verbal group when a clause boundary follows, when the verbal group contains no other NP, and when the NP replaces a predicate rather than an object. This order is preferred when the verbal phrase is 'light' and the NP is 'heavy'. Thus the apparent conditions of use of this construction imply that we should not assume that we have further instances of a category of 'indirect speech'. Rather we might note that a 'structure-preserving transformation' which placed the subject within a single predicate NP vacated by WH MOVEMENT could provide an appropriate formulation. A 'structure-preserving transformation' is one whose output is defined in terms of structures generated by the phrase structure rules, and it is not restricted to particular sentence types as are 'root transformations' (cf Emonds 1976 pp 1-6). Moreover, there is a partial parallel to this in Kayne's STYLISTIC INVERSION rule for French, discussed by Emonds (1976 pp 90-3), so that there is some external justification for such a rule. Perhaps it can be generalized to cover these instances with PAT and nonfinite complements after fronting of the prepositional phrase. But perhaps (118), (119) and the first examples in (121) are 'asserted': note the occurrence of inversion of subject and verb in the second instance of (121) which implies that it is a 'root sentence', and the examples from EV given in §2.1.3.2.

- (118) ii.56.10 trowe we þat in Jerusalem is suche a
water as þe gospel seiþ, ...

- (119) ii.84.17 'ge seien, þat at Jerusalem is place, where
men moten preie.'
John 4.20 vos dicitis, quia Jerosolymis est locus
ubi adorare oportet.

(120) i.401.8 Here men seien soþli, þat bi her bodili
lymes ben undirstonden mennis workes and mennis
affeccions; ...

(121) i.267.16 And þus, for Goddis lawe commandiþ in
offringe to be devocion and hete of charite,
þerwiþ Goddis lawe biddiþ, in figure of þis, in
ech offringe to be salt offrid.

To summarize the discussion so far: it seems that we may tentatively distinguish 5 rules operating within subordinate clauses.

(a) TOPICALIZATION and (b) LEFT DISLOCATION which front NP.*

(c) A rule or rules to front prepositional and adverbial phrases, including single adverbs. Perhaps the fronting of PPs really belongs with (a).

(d) SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION which places the first verb of the verb phrase (the finite verb of a finite phrase) before the clause subject.

(e) A rule which places the subject after a verbal group which is clause final and contains no other NP, when some final element has been fronted.

The first 4 show a distribution typical of 'root transformations', occurring in main sentences, in 'asserted' PAT-clauses (and one non-finite clause), and, in the case of (d), in 'indirect speech' questions (and commands). A fronted adverb is also found in a WH-complement, which may imply that such single adverbs are not placed by a 'root transformation'. (e), however, is found typically in WH-clauses, and perhaps also in other complement types, and it seems to be open to formulation as a 'structure-preserving rule'. While there is not enough evidence here for great confidence, and despite areas of difficulty, this account is coherent and it accords rather well with what is known

* TOPICALIZATION here in its narrower sense: see note on p 59.

about PE (in the guise of Emonds' theories) so that we may feel that it is at least a reasonable first approximation to the grammar of these subordinate clause movement possibilities in WSerE.

(c) Preposing in nonfinite clauses.

The positioning of adverbs and adverb phrases within finite clauses when not initial is apparently straightforward in that they may occur between subject and finite verb, or between finite premodal, HAVE or BE and following nonfinite verb as in main sentences in both \bar{P} AT- and WH-complements. It is presumably similar movement possibilities which account for the positioning of adverbs and adverb phrases either before the infinitive, or between TO and infinitive in examples like (122)-(131) below.

- (122) ii.15.18 But 3if Crist ... makip hem clerely
for to se ...
- (123) i.223.12 Crist biddip attende his lawe, þat is,
bisili to perceyve it; ...
- (124) ii.253.34 þes foure sectis ... semen more stifly
to synne agen þe lawe of charite.
- (125) i.181.36 Generali to speke, þat man is a martir
þat is killid in charite and þus goip to hevene, ...
- (126) i.175.3 to þis manere trete þere broþer, ... to
þis manere hate her God; ...
- (127) i.204.7 to þus repreve synne; ...
- (128) ii.256.12 Þe sixte vertue of þis ground is 'to freely
3yve togider,' ...
- (129) i.76.9 ... Magdalene shulde not have founde to
þus have washid Cristis feet.

The sequence ADVERBIAL TO VP may contain an adverbial which seems truly to belong to the infinitive rather than to the matrix construction. There are some clear examples, like (122)-(125) above, in some of which

we seem likely to be dealing with a constituent ADVERB TO VP (eg (123) and (125)). The adverbials, preponderantly those of manner, seem in general closely parallel to those which may occur between premodal etc and following nonfinite verb (according to a small comparative survey). Thus there are distributional grounds for supposing that such adverb placement may be the product of a very general rule. There are instances, however, which may point rather to the generalization of other fronting rules, as in (130)-(132).

(130) ii.73.35 And it helpiþ moche here for to knowe a
greet persone, and now bi oo part and now bi
anoþer verifie wordis of þis gospel, ...

(131) i.199.33 and of a soule þat first was nest of þe
fend, to make a nest of God, to dwelle by grace
and by virtues.

(132) i.28.36 It is a greet synne of two þingis to
chese þe worse, ...

Such instances are uncommon, and the preposed object so common in Chaucer is not found in complement infinitives, though there is one (double) example with a purpose infinitive at i.172.13. Here it is not possible to draw a satisfactory conclusion, except that a generalization of the rule placing adverbs within the verbal group will generate the vast majority of instances where adverbials precede infinitives. The 'split' infinitive is also distributionally similar: it is attested 6 times in the corpus (and so is not uncommon), always with manner adverbial, though it occurs with NOT outside the corpus. Note that Visser (II §979-81) finds manner adverbs and NOT in TO _ VP earlier than he finds other adverbs.

We may, then, conclude this brief survey of movement rules within complement clauses by noting, in addition to the rules and conditions on them suggested above, merely that in general the sequence ADVERBIAL

TO VP where the adverbial belongs TO VP will be automatically generated by whatever rules are generally responsible for the position of adverbials after the finite premodal, HAVE or BE, within the verbal group.

The following rules seem to apply within complement clauses:

(a) TOPICALIZATION and (b) LEFT DISLOCATION which front NPs; (c) A rule (or rules) to front adverbial and prepositional phrases; (d) SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION; (e) A rule which places adverbials within the finite verb phrase. (e) occurs freely in all main and subordinate clauses, and with infinitives it results in the constituent ADVERBIAL TO VP.

The other four rules occur in main-clauses and in PAT-clauses of 'assertion'. (d) is also found in 'indirect speech' questions and commands. There is an example of a fronted adverb, (c), in a WH-clause, and examples of (a), (c) and (d) in nonfinite clauses; indeed (c) may ultimately prove to have a fairly wide distribution in nonfinite clauses. (a), (b) and (d) seem likely to be 'root transformations', and perhaps the same is true of PP movements under (c). There is also one 'structure-preserving' rule: (f) A rule which places the subject NP in clause final position after a verb group which does not contain another NP, when some element has been preposed from final position. This occurs in WH-complements, and very probably in other complement types too.

5.1.5 Verbless complements.

Under this heading are instances of NP with what Jespersen (MEG part 3 chapters 17,18) calls a 'predicative', or Huddleston (1971 p 128) an 'attribute', ie a phrase which occurs as notional predicate to some preceding NP. We may distinguish instances where NP ... PRED seems to be roughly equivalent to a parallel clausal structure containing BE,

and occurs with a verb found also with a complement clausal structure from instances where this is not the case. The first group has been dealt with in detail, including borderline cases, but not so the second. The second includes eg DWELLE, LEVE, or the frequent CLEPE* in examples such as the following:

- (133) ii.86.31 'And whanne þei dwelten axing him, ...'
John 8.7 Cum ergo perseverarent interrogantes eum, ...
- (134) i.8.25 Crist lefte þis aungel kynde dwellyng
in hevene; ...
- (135) ii.226.16 Poul clepiþ God of pacience, and of
solace þat comeþ after, ...
cf ii.226.13 'God of pacience and of solace ...'
Romans 15.5 Deus autem patientiae et solatii, ...

Also excluded (eg) are instances with MAKE NP OF NP, MAKE NP TO NP since there is no general paraphrase with NP BE NP, although specific examples permit it.

5.1.5.1 NP PRED closely parallel to clause structure.

The first group may have NP in subject position (eg SEME), and it includes both cases where NP might be taken as the deep object of the preceding verb, as in (136) where him can occur independently as object of SHEWE, and as merely the subject of the NP PRED 'nexus' (to use Jespersen's term), as in (137) where him may not occur independently as object of ÞENKE.

- (136) i.1.6 and so he was an ypocrite, þat shewide him
to þe world boþe austerne and clene, as worldly
men done.
- (137) ii.322.24 And þus þe fend þenkiþ him sure of
sinful men þat he haþ gildrid, ...

* But a Wyclifite example of CLEPE NP TO BE PRED is cited in Zeitlin (1908 p 101).

The distinction is parallel to that drawn between deep one place and two place NP TO VP, and could be dealt with by deriving NP PRED from both by deletion of TO BE (cf also Huddleston's distinction (1971 p 128) between 'intensive' and 'extensive' structures). The verbs with which NP PRED may be related to ditransitive structures are JUGE, ORDEYNE and SHEWE, but this distinction has not been drawn in listing NP PRED verbs in §5.2.1 below or in Appendix 2.

The closeness of the relationship with clausal structures in this group is shown by the range of elements which may occur as PRED. We find (as today) NP, 'attributive' PP, AdjP and adjectival past participles; but also PP which are difficult to parallel today (but cf (135) with CLEPE), and in (143) and (13) possible passive transforms (but note conjunction with adjective). However, despite this closeness of relationship there are certain verbs, eg DECLARE, KNOWE, PENKE which occur with NP PRED but are not adequately evidenced with NP TO BE PRED. Thus, though a rule of TO BE DELETION is plausible, it may be that verbs here should instead be deeply subcategorized for the sequence NP PRED.

Interchange between examples with and without TO BE:

- (138) i.319.26 for it is more to make God man, þan
to make þis world of nouȝt.
- (139) i.319.30 but it is wiþouten mesure more to make
God to be a man.
- (140) ii.240.4 And þus Crist, whan he made him man
and made his Chirche to be his broþer, ...
- (141) i.293.2 þes laste folk semen virginis; ...
- (142) i.32.18 he axide ... 'which of þese þree men semede
him to be neigbore unto þis syke man ...'
Luke 10.36 Quis horum trium videtur tibi proximus
fuisse illi ...

PRED is past participle:

- (143) i.273.16 Þes wordis semen superflu and seid of
Crist wipouten witt.
'These words seem to be redundant, and to have
been said by Christ without good judgement.'
- (144) ii.318.16 þer newe lore pervertip many, and makip
hem more punishid in helle.

PRED is PP:

- (145) i.221.13 tresour þat þei feynen of God.
- (146) i.387.2 reversing of þis lore now, ... haþ maad
al newe preestis and oþer ordir fro Cristis Chirche.
(ie it has estranged them)
- (147) i.42.33 so pride of worldly goodis, þat ben unstable
as þe watir, makip a man in ydropesie, and falsely
presume of himsilf; ...
- (148) ii.239.21 And for to knitte his two lawes, Crist
made him silf undir hem boþe.
- (149) i.153.27 And herfore seiþ Crist þat þei shal make
þou 'wipout synagogis'.
John 16.2 Absque synagogis facient vos: ...
- (150) ii.47.23 men knowen of yvel liif ...
'men known to be of evil life'

5.1.5.2 NP PRED not closely parallel to clause structure.

A group of verbs which might be regarded as borderline cases is HOLDE, HAVE, PUTTE, TAKE (only with NP AS/FOR NP) and perhaps even UNDIRSTONDE (with NP NP ~ NP BI NP). ÞAT S occurs in an appropriate sense with HOLDE, PUTTE and TAKE, though clausal complements with HOLDE are not well attested before c1400. However these three verbs occur more widely with NP PRED than when clause-equivalence is in question, and it seems better to take NP PRED as a weakened or metaphorical part of a wider construction. The examples with HAVE show no parallel clause construction (?OED Have, y. B.13.), but are nearly related to constructions with HOLDE.

5.1.5.3 Order of NP PRED.

By far the most frequent order is NP PRED, with the regular exception that when NP is either PAT S or TO VP the order is PRED NP, eg (55)-(59). There are also however a few instances of PRED NP order with MAKE which seem to reflect the validity of Jespersen's comment on PE for ME too: "The P [predicative - AW] may be placed before the S [subject of the nexus object - AW] if it is short and forms as it were one sense-unit with the verb." (MEG part 5 §4.32). This option is not frequent. It is found only twice in the corpus, beside MAKE NP PRED fifty times. The notion that MAKE PRED forms 'as it were one sense-unit' is borne out by the use of these collocations in Vulgate translation to render one Latin word (MAKE FAIRE = ornare, MAKE FREE = liberare, but both only with intervening NP; MAKE KNOWUN = manifestare, MAKE REDI = parare, both in contact). The PRED element is generally short, but cf (152) and (153), and the associated NP is generally but not invariably rather long, but cf (154) in particular for an exception. The two corpus examples, (151) and (152), each with NP of 4 words provide the only corpus examples of NP PRED with MAKE in either order with NP more than two words long. Thus the normal order NP PRED may be inverted, generally but not solely for reasons of weight and semantic appropriacy.

- (151) ii.230.18 'þe which shal ligȝt þe hidde þingis
of derknessis, and shal make knowe þe conceillis
of hertis; ...
1 Cor 4.5 et manifestabit consilia cordium: ...
- (152) i.6.31 and make knowe to þe peple the cautelis
of Anticrist.
- (153) i.363.32 'And so Baptist made redi to þe Lord a
perfect folk' ...
Luke 1.17 parare Domino plebem perfectam.
- (154) ii.12.16 algatis Joon made redi men for to
trowe in Crist.

- (155) i.293.19 'Þanne risen up alle þe virgyns, and maden
þer lampis fair.'
Matt 25.7 Tunc surrexerunt omnes virgines illae,
et ornaverunt lampades suas.
- (156) i.286.19 And margaritis ben a cordial medecine,
and þei maken faire mennis atire, ...
- (157) i.96.32 sowynge of þe fend ... makip here Cristis
corn ful þinne, and makip picke þe fendis lymes, ...

5.1.6 On sentences like: þei knowen not Cristis religioun how it
passip alle opir.

5.1.6.0 Besides the structures and rules discussed above, WSerE shows
a further structural type which I shall suggest contains a complement
clause, and which merits some discussion.* Accordingly this section is
devoted to it. The type involves sentences like (158)-(160), in which
a NP is followed by an associated finite clause or infinitive which
functions as a kind of reformulation, further specifying the respect
in which what was said about the NP holds true. This additional
clause seems to be parallel to the NP in grammatical function, and it
contains a pronoun which refers to the NP.

- (158) ii.65.22 : 'But he knewe wel þes Jewis· þat þei
han not Goddis love in hem' /
John 5.42 Sed cognovi vos, quia dilectionem
Dei non habetis in vobis.
- (159) i.237/8 /And þus if men wolden wel examyne dedis·
ungroundid in holi writt: þei shulden shame of
þes dedis· how þei ben agens God/
- (160) i.174.30 (2 examples) and if men knewen Goddis
power and his witt in þes two persones, how he
mai not forgete synne to punishe it whanne it
is tyme, ...
(Arnold's punctuation)

Such sentences are a familiar Hebraism in the Vulgate. There is also a

* This construction is not uncommon in ME. It is found elsewhere in
Wyclifite works and in the Wyclifite Bible. For other examples see Kellner
(1890 p xcv et seq), Kellner (1892 p 50, p 56 et seq), Zupitza (1875 line
1497n), and MED *hou* conjunctive adv. The punctuation of the MS is repro-
duced in examples of this type when it can be clearly read from the microfilm.

similar construction in PE, in such sentences as:

- (161) Remember Suzanna, how disgustingly fat she was?
- (162) His poetry is absolutely splendid, how it simply
rolls along.
- (163) Aren't those roses incredible, how quickly they're
growing!

This clearly differs from the WSerE construction by being severely restricted. It seems to occur only when the clause has a WH complementizer, particularly an exclamative, and only after a limited class of verbs of thinking, knowing and perceiving when the NP is an object. Moreover, the construction is not regarded as standard and many would reject it entirely. But apart from these restrictions its grammar may be parallel to the WSerE construction.

Thirty eight pretty certain examples of this construction have been found in WSerE: 13 in the corpus, and 25 others noted while reading, chiefly in vol i. This rather conservative group has been used as the basis of what follows, but the addition of other more doubtful instances to that group, or even the removal of some instances from it, will not affect the general description and conclusions given here. I propose to refer to this construction as the 'CLAN-construction', since the acronym CLAN, which may be read 'clause and nominal' (where 'clause' includes TO VP), seems suitably suggestive of the close relationship which exists between nominal and clause. Henceforth then, sentences like those above are 'CLAN-sentences', and the term 'nominal' will be restricted in reference to the NP in this 'CLAN-construction'.

5.1.6.1 The characteristics of this construction.

(a) The position of the nominal.

The nominal is most frequently the single direct object of the matrix clause, but it occurs also as object in a ditransitive structure, within an object NP, and as subject as in (166)-(171) below.

- (164) i.173.4 /And þus if þou woldist þenke on Crist· how
he suffride for love of man:
- (165) i.88.16 /And drede we not þes philosophris· to
graunte hem aptly þat þe same substaunce is first
watir and sip wyne/
- (166) i.328.3 for he dredde him of Crist· [sic MS] þat
he shulde take his kingdom/
(and cf i.44.16)
- (167) i.227.21 /And þis is a comun synne among men
now on lyve/ for þei tellen more priis· bi
lawe civile or canoun· to cunne hem or oper
jappis: þan to cunne Goddis lawe·/
- (168) i.348.15 /As men hadden dyverse opynyouns of
Baptist· what he was/
- (169) i.323.7 /and many þingis ben hid to us: how þei
weren speciali done/
- (170) ii.162.9 /'But he þat doiþ treuþe: comeþ to lizt·/
þat his werkes be shewid: þat þei ben maad in
God'/
John 3.21 Qui autem facit veritatem, venit ad
lucem, ut manifestentur opera ejus, quia in
Deo sunt facta.
- (171) ii.360.11 /For þei shal be knowun at domesday· bi
clennes and bi bride cloþis: þat þei ben of
Cristis secte/

It seems that we should conclude from this that there is probably no restriction on the position within the matrix clause which the nominal may occupy, though it is most frequently the direct object of a monotransitive structure.

(b) The occurrence of the coreferential noun phrase.

The clause normally contains a pronoun which is coreferential to the nominal or to part of the nominal; this pronoun is most often clause-subject, but it occurs also as object (in 5 instances) or

in some further oblique relation (in 2 instances). For object and indirect object instances after TO VP see (160) and (165); object and oblique instances in finite clauses are cited in (172) and (173). Note from (173) that a conjoined clause is not so constrained.

(172) i.279.20 /as he knewe not his owne dampnyng:
 how God shope it to blis of seintis/

(173) ii.48.19 /'And þanne Crist shal reherse þes sixe:
 how þes' fendis 'failiden in hem·/ and how þei
 shal axe whanne Crist was in þe state· þus to
 be helpid'/'

On 5 occasions identity is not to the whole of the nominal but to the possessive genitive preceding it (as we find also in relative clauses) as in (160) or twice in (174), while in one other case, (175), pronominalization is not so straightforwardly involved.

(174) i.37.20 /and þus seiþ Crist/'þat we shulde not be
 bisye to oure lyf what we shulden ete· ne to oure
 bodi what we shulde be clopid wiþ'/'
 Matt 6.25 ne solliciti sitis animae vestrae quid
 manducetis, neque corpori vestro quid induamini.

(175) ii.321.20 :a witti child· wolde drede þis maistir
 to trespas þus undir siche an hond/
 (siche 'like this', perhaps essentially pronominal)

We may clearly wonder whether CLAN-sentences are to be isolated as a separate construction characterized by this condition of pronominal identity, or whether we should classify them with instances like (176) and (177) or even (178).

(176) i.278.2 /and aȝens þe firste synne: þenke we mekeli
 on Goddis power/ how God is stronger þan þe fend:
 and wiþouten him mai we nouȝt do/

(177) i.278.12 /Aȝens dispeir we shulden þenke on goodnesse
 of þe Holy Goost/ how oure good God may not leewe
 us: but ȝif oure folie be in cause·/

(178) i.186.29 and þes men þat knowen þe worchinge of þe
 elementis, how manere of saltis and poudir fleep
 fier, ...
 (ie gunpowder explodes)

However, I shall suggest below that CLAN-sentences are best seen as syntactically connex, and there seems to be no good reason for regarding apparent instances of reformulating apposition like (178), and probably (176) and (177), as connex. Thus it seems most reasonable to regard CLAN-sentences as a distinct construction in this respect.

(c) Subcategorization and selection restrictions.

It seems that if we factor any CLAN-sentence into two sentences, one containing the nominal and the other containing the clause, then we can parallel the construction with the matrix expression in each case, and we always find that the resulting two statements are appropriate and true in context. So, for (179) we might posit two separate ME sentences: Herodias aspiede Joon and Herodias aspiede how Joon my3te be do to dep.

- (179) i.387.26 /And herfore þis 'Herodias aspiede Joon
many gatis: how he my3te be do to dep'/
Mark 6.19 Herodias autem insidiabatur illi: et
volebat occidere eum, nec poterat.

Both of these invented sentences are apparently grammatical (relying on MED), and in context each is appropriate, and true. The same holds for a more 'difficult' instance like (180) and is apparently the case in general.

- (180) i.279.20 •/as he knewe not his owne dampnyng:
how God shope it to blis of seintis/
(he = þe fend)
cf OED Know, v. 8. 'To have cognizance of
(something), ... to be aware or apprised
of (= F. savoir, Ger. wissen)'

In short, it seems that the clause is a complement clause, and that nominal and clause both separately fulfil the subcategorization and selection restrictions imposed by the verb (or other elements in the clause)*. The construction may apparently occur with any verb which

* Three instances where lack of data means that we cannot be certain that this is true are i.238.6 with OVERSEE, ii.353.4 with PROVE and (167) with TELLE PRIIS BI.

is capable of satisfying the double subcategorization and selection restriction.* The most common verbs are (broadly) those of knowing and seeing, but other verbs occur fairly plentifully: those found in WSerE are listed immediately below. The clause seems not to be restricted in any way as to choice of complementizer, beyond the restrictions imposed by the embedding sentence: TO VP, PAT S, WH S all occur, and though the verb in the clause is normally indicative, the subjunctive occurs in i.238.6 after OVERSEE.

Matrix Expressions of CLAN-Sentences

Those found in the corpus are underlined.

Expressions found with good CLAN-sentences in WSerE.

ASPIE (2), BIHOLDE, BE BISIE (2), CONSEYVE, CONFESSE (3), DREDE (5), FOR3ETE, BE HID, KNOWE (8), LOKE, OVERSEE, PROVE, REHERSE, SEE, SHAME, SHEWE, PENKE ON (2), TROWE (2), UNDIRSTONDE.
telle more priis bi, han dyverse opiniouns of.

Expressions found with possible CLAN-sentences in WSerE.

COVEITE, JUGE (2), LOVE (2), REULE, TAKE HEDE TO, TELLE OF, WITNESSE.

(d) The relationship of this construction to Latin.

This construction is free from direct dependence on Latin, but it seems possible that it was felt especially appropriate in rendering

* There is a construction found elsewhere in ME with MAKE (also DO and CAUSE) which does not accord with this generalization, eg:

Canterbury Tales I 4253-4

Myn heed is toty of my swynk to-nyght,
 That makes me that I ga nat aright.

(for others see Kerkhof 1966 §95, Visser III.2 §2059, Jespersen MEG part 5, §18.62). Here the nominal is not clearly the object of MAKE (unless this is to be related to MAKE NP TO NP). The fact that this type survives into Modern English, however, may indicate that it is not a CLAN-construction. The nominal is usually a pronoun, and the subject in the ME examples often refers to some aspect of that nominal (as in the example quoted above) so perhaps it is an indirect object of advantage.

Latin. Some instances directly reproduce CLAN-sentences from the Vulgate: eg (158), (170) and (174). But interestingly, the Vulgate is elsewhere treated more freely so that a CLAN-construction is introduced where the Latin does not demand it: in (173) in a very free summary of the Vulgate, and in (179), (181) and (182). In i.225.2 and ii.353.4 the clause is added at the end of a piece of Vulgate translation. But in other instances there is no association with the Vulgate, and no known dependence on Latin.

- (181) ii.152.27 •/But neþeles Crist seiþ 'In þis shulen alle men knowe 3ou/ þat 3e ben my disciplis/ 3if 3e han love togidere'/
 John 13.35 In hoc [sc. your loving together - AW] cognoscent omnes quia discipuli mei estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem.
- (182) i.325.12 /'Peter as he turnede him: saw þat disciple þat Jesus lovede/ how he sude Crist [sic MS]' as Peter:
 John 21.20 Conversus Petrus vidit illum discipulum, quem diligebat Jesus, sequentem, ...
 EV, LV change the order and put suyng before the relative clause, except for some MSS of EV which do not translate sequentem at all.

To summarize, in table form:

	S	TO VP
Associated with the Vulgate:		
rendering Vulgate CLAN	7	0
not rendering Vulgate CLAN	4(?6)	0
Not associated with the Vulgate: 21 4		
(including i.225.2 and ii.353.4 as ?2 associated with Vulgate)		

Although CLAN-sentences are clearly independent of Latin, it is tempting to speculate that they were felt to be especially appropriate when rendering Latin since the construction occurs in the Vulgate, and is introduced in a proportionately high number of instances to render the Vulgate when the demands of strict translation did not require it, as

is shown by the absence of the construction from EV, LV in these 4 cases (though CLAN-sentences are found in EV, LV to render the Latin equivalent).

(e) The connexity of this construction.

It must seem that CLAN-sentences are in general syntactically connex, and that they do not merely contain a relatively loosely appended clause. Such a view is semantically appropriate for a clause type which is best interpreted as essentially restrictive in function; the parallel construction in PE may be connex; and there is some further weak evidence in the interchange of CLAN-sentences and other clauses shown in the translation practice of WBib. Here LV three times uses a CLAN-sentence to render a nonfinite clause in the Vulgate and EV (Luke 4.41, Acts 24.10, 1 Cor 10.12) and on two occasions a Vulgate CLAN-sentence is rendered as a CLAN-sentence in one version but a finite clause in the other (Luke 4.34, Acts 4.13). Finally, there is some evidence from manuscript punctuation. It seems to be generally agreed that manuscript punctuation reflected certain aspects of the surface syntax and tonality of ME texts, while also serving other functions (cf especially Clemons 1952, Morgan 1952, Ong 1944, Zeeman 1952, and see Crystal 1975 on the close interrelationship between tonality and syntax in PE). On reading parts of the manuscript one's intuitive judgement is that there must have been a substantial degree of goodness of fit between punctuation and surface syntax. Punctuation marks seem generally to provide appropriate syntactic boundaries, and they often occur at points which match those described for PE by Crystal (1975). We may perhaps use this intuitive judgement as the basis for an extrapolated interpretation of a plausible surface syntax

for other constructions by comparing the punctuation of one construction with another. This, of course, only provides a supportive argument for the plausibility of a particular view: it is too weakly founded to constitute a stronger argument.

The punctuation marks relevant to our immediate concerns which occur in Bodley 788 are:

· : and ; / ·/

and their relative importance for syntactic breaks is shown by their ranking from weak on the left to strong on the right. This is not an exceptionless or unneutralized ranking, but it generally works fairly well (for an apparently similar basic system see Arakelian 1975). Different lengths and weights of </> have been identified in what follows, and the few instances of <:/> have been classed with <:;>. Punctuation cannot always be determined from the microfilm (which sometimes for example conceals what is in the binding) but I have examined the collection of CLAN-sentences with a finite clause, and corpus instances of the categories indicated in the table below. It was my intention to choose clauses which were relatively connex with what preceded them in (a) and (b), and which were not in (d), (e) and (f).

Punctuation preceding selected clause types

Nature of clause	Punctuation preceding clause				
	NONE	.	:	/	./
(a) Restrictive apposition in contact with NP*	4	11		1	1
(b) after BIDDE, SEIE, TECHE, TELLE with intervening object	8	21	8	3	
(c) CLAN-construction in contact with nominal	4	13	5	4	
(d) Restrictive apposition, no contact with NP		4	1	4	
(e) Nonrestrictive apposition in contact with NP	1	11	14	6	5
(f) Nonrestrictive apposition, no contact with NP	3	7	7	5	4
(g) CLAN-construction, no contact with nominal		1	4	1	

On examining this table two things immediately seem clear. All the instances where a clause is independent of its appositive NP (whether because it is separated or because the apposition is non-restrictive) are more or less similar to one another and can be grouped together as we might expect. This provides some justification for our reliance on comparison of punctuation. CLAN-sentences in contact, however, are not similar to this group, but are much more like groups (a) and (b). We may adopt a crude metric of similarity by assigning numerical values from 1 to 4 to the punctuation marks, and finding the average for each category: (a) 1.1, (b) 1.2, (c) 1.3, (d)(e)(f)(g) 2.0-2.2. This comparison provides a supportive argument that CLAN-

* The 9 examples of IN PAT PAT have been omitted as a potential distinct type. None contains any punctuation.

sentences should not be grouped with constructions which show a relatively nonconnex clause, but that they are generally to be interpreted as syntactically connex, though some individual instances may indeed have been more loosely linked.

5.1.6.2 The facts of selection and subcategorization outlined above are parallel to those which hold for PE nonrestrictive apposition (Burton-Roberts 1975), and make CLAN-sentences look like a type of apposition. It seems, however, to be best interpreted as syntactically connex. Granted that only a rather small amount of evidence is available, perhaps we may suggest that a restrictive reformulating construction was permitted when nominal and clause separately fulfilled the subcategorization and selectional requirements of the matrix clause, and when the clause contained a pronoun referring to the nominal. We might then characterize WSerE as containing in addition to the type of restrictive apposition between NP and clause found in PE and discussed in §5.2.2, also the distinct restrictive reformulating construction considered here.

5.1.7 Conclusion.

Within a complement system characterized basically by the twin oppositions \pm finite and \pm WH, $\bar{P}AT$ appears as a general marker of subordinate finite clauses, occurring after WH-phrases and after other conjunctions (but hardly after prepositions). Apart from $\bar{P}AT$, WH and the oblique case, there is no good evidence of other initial complementizers in the corpus. To rules of PREPOSITION DELETION and WH MOVEMENT, and to rules governing the alternation of $\bar{P}AT$: ZERO and FOR TO : TO : ZERO we must add the following: a restricted rule of RAISING to subject, found certainly only with SEME in the corpus but

perhaps also in the 'second passives' of SEIE; rules of OBJECT RAISING and DELETION, yielding structures parallel to those found today; a rule of EQUI operating much as in PE, with the additional option of infinitives with unexpressed indefinite (or contextually specifiable) subject, found only as object when no unambiguous 'controller' is present; and a general rule of EXTRAPOSITION, again operating much as in PE except that place-holding IT is uncommon in object position, is optional in subject position when the verb is not initial, and is not found with an impersonal verb preceded by an oblique. We might also add a rule deleting TO BE in nonfinite clauses to yield the structure NP PRED.

There are also two more interesting series of results. The first concerns movement from and within complement clauses. Movement from nonfinite and \bar{P} AT-complement clauses is apparently unconstrained, except that there are no sure instances of movement from subject position of a \bar{P} AT-clause except with \bar{P} AT-relatives, where it has been argued that deletion (rather than movement) is involved. Here instances are frequent. Possibly then there is a distinction between deletion and movement processes in this case. Deletion of a clause subject does not always lead to the deletion also of \bar{P} AT, which even appears before simple phrases. Within complement clauses it seems that we may distinguish a group of 'asserted' \bar{P} AT-clauses which resemble main sentences in their use of clause-internal fronting processes and SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION; we may also apparently isolate a 'structure preserving' movement of NP to position after BE (and a few other verbs) which gives inverted structures, particularly in WH-complements. The second result of particular interest concerns the existence of a structure, which is probably to be interpreted as connex, in which a NP is reformulated by a complement clause which contains a pronoun identical to the NP (or its preceding genitive), and which satisfies the subcategorization and selection requirements of the matrix expression.

5.2 Complement Constructions in the Corpus

For a useful account of the incidence of complement constructions in the corpus three kinds of information are required: the constructions found with each matrix expression, the matrix expressions found containing each construction, and the natural groupings of matrix expressions which emerge. For verbs and adjectives the first kind of information is given in Appendix 2, and the other two are given in §5.2.1. Here statements of individual constructions are accompanied by a list of the verbs and adjectives which occur in them, and information on natural groupings of matrix expressions is only given a subsidiary place. Such detailed information on complement clauses in apposition to noun phrases seemed less necessary, and a more summary account is given of them in §5.2.2.

5.2.1 Clauses in construction with a matrix verb or adjective.

Constructions have been classified here in terms of the major relevant features of their derivational history and surface structure, ie in terms of their deep structures and the occurrence of PASSIVE, RAISING, EQUI, OBJECT RAISING and EXTRAPOSITION. The effects of movement rules not essentially connected with the complement system, eg TOPICALIZATION, QUESTION MOVEMENT and SUBJECT VERB-INVERSION have simply been disregarded. The deletion of a preposition before a complement clause has been taken for granted, and structures with deep NP and PP have not been distinguished. Similarly the deletion of ¹PAT and differences in infinitive marking have been taken for granted, so that the term '¹PAT-clause' includes clauses introduced by ZERO, and

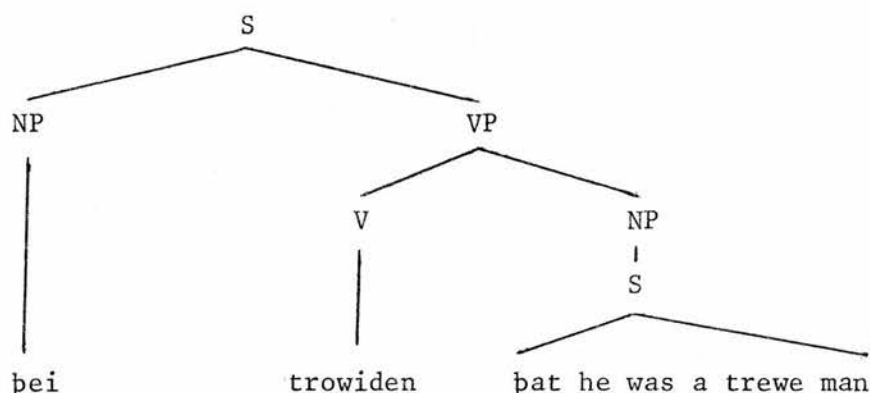
'TO VP' includes infinitives introduced by ZERO or FOR TO. For further details of the classification of structures see the introduction to Appendix 2. When a verb or adjective is listed without a following number, there is one relevant occurrence.

5.2.1.1 Finite complement clauses as deep object.

Finite clauses.

(a) Monotransitive structures with finite -WH complement (483 egs).

ii.53.18 Þei trowiden þat he was a trewe man, and lovede treuþe, and dampnede synne; ...



Verbs of thinking, knowing and perceiving:

BILEVE 5	SUPPOSE 8
CONSEYVE	ÞENKE 16
	ÞENKE ON
GESSE 'think' 3	TROWE 'believe' 9
JUGE 2	UNDIRSTONDE 7
KNOWE 12	UNKNOWE 'be ignorant'
PUTTE 'suppose'	WENE 'think' 3
SEE 9	WITE 'know' 51

Verbs of saying, admitting etc:

BOSTE 2	KNITTE 'add'
CONFESSE 'admit'	KNOWELICHE 'acknowledge' 2
(?CRIE 'beg')	MENE 'say'
DENYE 2	SEIE 195
GRAUNTE 'admit' 8	SPEKE 'utter, say' 3(?5)
GRUTCHE 'grumble' 2	TELLE 17

Verbs of ordering and asking (with the subjunctive):

AXE 2	?ORDEYNE 'decree, appoint'
BIDDE 'order' 28	PREIE 'ask, pray' 3

Verbs of desiring and wishing (with the subjunctive):

COVEITE 'desire'	WILLE 'wish' 26
LOVE 2	

APPROVE 'sanction'	MAKE
AVOIDE 'refute'	PROCURE 'bring about'
BIHETE 'promise'	PROVE 3
BE CERTEYN 2	REDE 'read' 3
DREDE 'fear'	SHEWE 3
DREME	BE SIKIR 'be sure' 2
FEYNE 'pretend' 5	SUFFRE 'allow' 2
FIGURE 'symbolize'	TECHE 12
HELPE	?TOKNE 'signify'
HOPE 'expect' 3	BE WARE 'be careful' 2
LERNE 2	WONDRIDE 'marvelled'
LEVE 'reject (the notion)'	BE WROOP 'be angry'
LOKE 'take care' 5	

(b) Monotransitive structures with finite -WH complement,

PASSIVE and EXTRAPOSITION with place-holding IT (23 egs). With KNOWE a reordering parallel to PASSIVE results in KNOWUN TO NP.

i.1.15 'And it is maad' by Goddis wille 'þat þis begger was deed; ...'

KNOWE 8	MAKE 1	SEIE 11	WRITE 3
---------	--------	---------	---------

(c) Monotransitive structures with finite +WH complement (161 egs).

i.22.11 'but Y woot what Y shal do, ...'

Verbs of thinking, knowing and perceiving:

DOUTE 4	SEE 8
HEERE	PENKE 8
KNOWE 6	PENKE OVER
MARKE 'observe mentally' 2	UNDIRSTONDE
MUSE 'wonder' 8	WITE 30

Verbs of saying:

SEIE 7	SPEKE 'say' 2	TELLE 59
--------	---------------	----------

AXE 5
 BE BISIE
 BITOKENE 'symbolize'
 LOKE 'take care'
 ORDEYNE 'decree, appoint' 2

STUDIE
 TECHE 11
 TOUCHE
 WITNESSE 'bear witness'

(d) Monotransitive structures with finite +WH complement,
 PASSIVE and EXTRAPOSITION with place-holding IT (6 eggs). With UNKNOWNWE
 a reordering parallel to PASSIVE results in UNKNOWNWUN TO NP.

ii.51.9 And so it is seid bifore how water and eir
 obeishiden to Crist; ...

SEIE 3 TELLE UNKNOWNWE 'be ignorant' WRITE

(e) Monotransitive structures with direct speech (56 eggs).

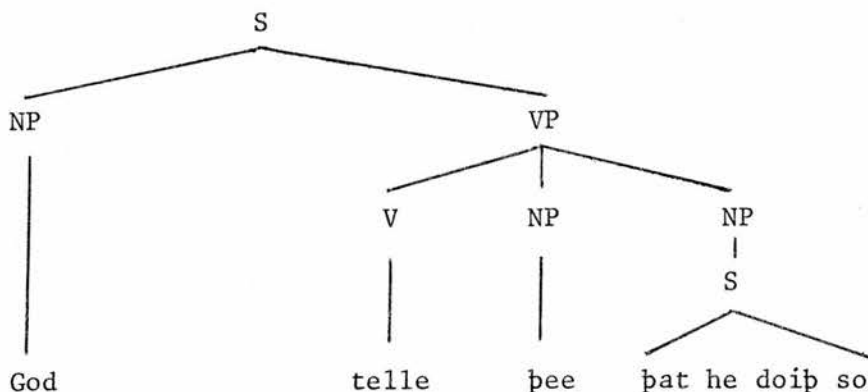
i.2.11 'and he criede, Fader Abraham, have mercy on me, ...'

AXE CRIE 2 SEIE 47
 BIDDE 'order' 2 ?REHERSE 'repeat' SPEKE 3

(f) Ditransitive structures with finite -WH complement
 (including complex transitive structures not derived from a clause).
 (79 eggs).

ii.77.16 but 3if God telle pee þat he doiþ so, ...

ii.221.1 We taken as bileve þat epistlis of apostlis ben
 gospelis of Crist, ...



Verbs of saying:

ANSWERE
 RENOUNCE 'declare, make renunciation'

SEIE 30
 TELLE 6

BIDDE 'order' 4
 BIHETE 'promise'
 CONCLUDE 'declare'
 ?EXPOWNE 'interpret (sth)'
 3YVE 'grant'
 JUGE
 PRECHE 'proclaim'
 PREIE 'ask, pray' 6
 PREISE

PUTTE 'blame', 'avoid' 2
 SUPPOSE
 TAKE (AS BILEVE) 5
 TAKE 'infer (from sth)'
 TECHE 12
 TELLE 'expound (sth)'
 TELLE MYCHE 'think much'
 WITNESSE 'bear witness'

(g) Ditransitive structures with a finite -WH complement, NP passivized (1 only).

ii.243.32 and þei my3ten have be tau3t þere þat he was
 boþe God and man.

There is also one instance where the direct object is a complement clause which is passivized, then extraposed:

ii.250.10 it is taken for a reule among worldly werroures
 þat þei shulden anoye þer enemyes on what maner þat þei
 mai; ...

(h) Ditransitive structures with a following finite +WH complement (24 egs).

i.17.27 'And Crist axide hem, how many loves þat þei
 hadden, ...'

AVISE (refl) 'bethink oneself'	REULE 'control, guide'
AXE 3	TAKE 'infer (from sth)'
BISIE (refl) 'trouble, keep busy'	TECHE 5
FIGURE 'symbolize'	TELLE 9
JUGE	WARNE

(i) Ditransitive structures with a finite +WH complement, NP passivized (1 only).

i.18.13 And so bi þis bodili werk of merci of Crist ben
 we tau3t to which men we shulden do sich almes; ...

(j) Ditransitive structures with direct speech (95 egs).

ii.53.22 Crist biheetip to þes men, 'If 3e dwellen
 in my word, 3e shal be verreli my disciplis, ...'

ANSWERE 2
 AXE 2
 BIDDE 'order' 2

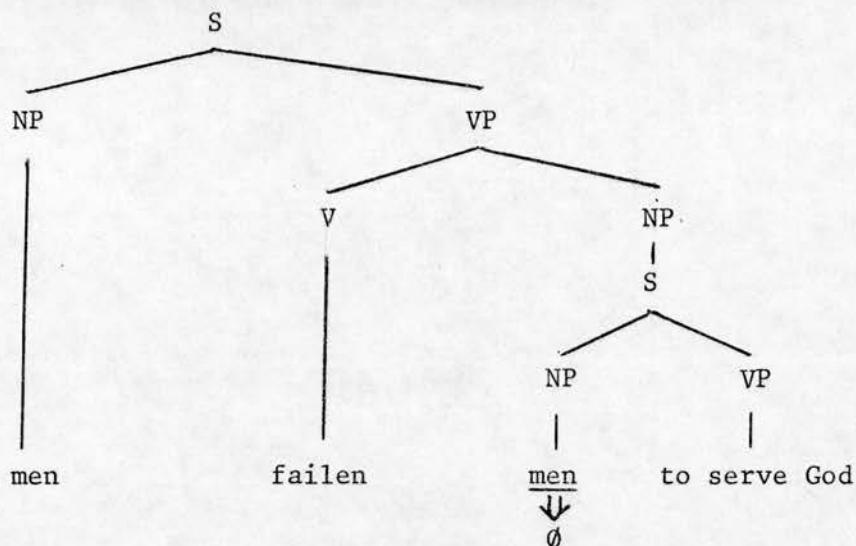
BIHETE 'promise'
 COMANDE

PREIE 'ask,pray'
 SEIE 86

5.2.1.2 Nonfinite complement clauses as deep object.

(k) Monotransitive structures with nonfinite complement,
 EQUI removes lower subject (135 egs).

i.25.19 men failen to serve God.



Verbs of stopping, failing and refusing:

BE BLYNDE	FORSOKE (pat.) 'refused'
CEESE 3	GRUTCHE 'be reluctant'
BE DEEF	LETTE 'cease, fail' 3
FAILE 5	LEVE 'stop, neglect' 5
FLEE 'avoid' 4	SPARE 'forbear' 2

Verbs of beginning, planning, readiness and expecting (including instances of 'think that'):

BE ABOUTE 'be active'	BE REDI 6
BIGYNNE 13	SEKE 'make it one's aim' 2
BE BISIE 5	BE SETTE 'be fixed, set upon'
CASTE 'prepare, plan' 4	SHAPE 'plan, contrive'
BE DISPOSID	PEENKE
GESSE 'think, expect'	BE WARE 'be careful'
BE HARDI 'be bold'	WENE 'intend, suppose' 3
HOPE 'expect, hope' 3	WITE 'be confident'
ORDEYNE 'plan'	

Verbs of desiring:

COVEITE 'desire' 7	LOVE
DESIRE 3	(WILLE 'wish' passim.)
BE ABLE 3	BE HOLDEN 'be constrained' 4
CHALLENGE 'claim' 6	LERNE 4
BE COUPABLE 'be liable' 2	NEDE (also impers)
DREDE 'fear' 5	BE NY3 'be near'
	PRESUME
FEYNE 'pretend' 3	SHAME 'be ashamed' 2 (also impers)
BE FERRE	BE UNWORPI 4
FOUCHE SAAF 'vouchsafe'	USE 'be wont' 3
HAVE LEVERE 'prefer'	BE WONT
HELPE 2	BE WORPI 8

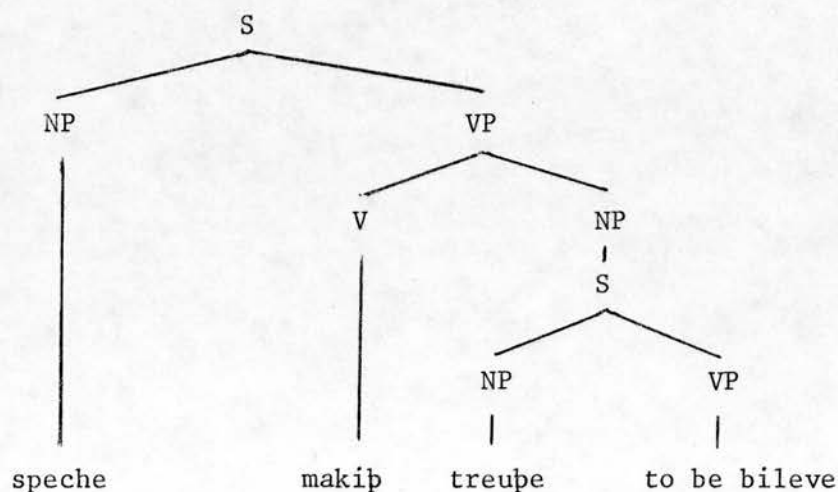
(1) Monotransitive structures with nonfinite complement, lower subject unexpressed but not deleted by EQUI (17 eggs).

ii.221.16 ... Poul bigynnep to stire þus to take hede
to Goddis tyme, ...

AXE	?PROFITE 'be of advantage to'
BIDDE 'order' 2	STIRE 'urge'
DISPOSE 'prepare'	TECHE 5
FORFENDE 'forbid' 2	BE WORP 'be valuable'
LETTE 'prevent' ?3	

(m) Monotransitive structures with nonfinite complement with lower subject (40 eggs).

ii.225.31 And so his speche makip treupe to be bileve
to Cristene men.



GESSE 'think'	MAKE 36	SEIE
HEERE	SEE	

(n) Monotransitive structures with nonfinite complement, PASSIVE and RAISING yield a 'second passive' (3 egs).

i.179/180 A man is seid to love his lyf, þat loveþ it
more þan oþer þing; ...

SEIE 2 ?WRITE

(o) Verbs with which the sequence NP TO VP is not readily assignable to a monotransitive or a ditransitive structure (17 egs).

i.188.24 and 3it God leet hem falle, ...

CHALLENGE 'require'	LETE 'permit, suffer' 5
CONFESSE 'acknowledge'	ORDEYNE 'appoint, decree' 7
ENFORCE	SUFFRE 'allow' 2

ORDEYNE also occurs twice with a passive surface structure like (n) and (q).

(p) Ditransitive structures with nonfinite complement, in which the lower subject is deleted by EQUI. Some individual instances listed here may rather belong to (m) (167 egs).

With EQUI to matrix subject:

i.178.19 Ne take þei not of Cristis lyf to traveile not, ...

AXE TAKE 'infer (from sth)' 2

With EQUI to matrix object:

ii.72.25 God seiþ þanne to his servauntis to bringe forþ
soon þe first stoole, ...

Verbs of ordering:

BIDDE 'order' 40	PREIE 'ask, pray' 11
COMANDE 2	SEIE 'order' 2

Verbs of urging and compelling:

BINDE 'compel' 2	MOVE 'urge' 30
CONFORTE 'encourage' 2	NEDE 'compel' 4
CONSTREYNE 'compel' 4	STIRE 'urge' 4

BEKENE 'summon'
 BLYNDE 'prevent (by blinding)'
 CASTE (refl) 'prepare, plan' 2
 CHESE
 CLEPE 'summon'
 DAMPNE 'condemn'
 DISPOSE 'prepare' 2
 DREDE 'fear' (refl)
 EXCUSE
 FEYNE (refl) 'pretend'

GRAUNTE 'permit, grant' 2
 3YVE 'allow' 2
 HELPE 6
 JUGE
 LETTE 'prevent' 18
 MARKE 'designate'
 MONESTE 'admonish'
 SHAPE (refl) 'prepare, contrive'
 TECHE 21

(q) Ditransitive structures with nonfinite complement, EQUI

removes subject of the lower clause, and NP object is passivized (20 eggs).

i.183.5 if a man be temptid to love an erpeli þing more
 þan his God, ...

Verbs of urging and compelling:

CONFORTE 'encourage'	MOVE 'urge'
CONSTREYNE 'compel'	NEDE 'compel' 7
HASTE 'urge'	OBLISHE

ACCEPTE 'receive in a capacity'	TECHE
CHESE	TEMPTE
CLEPE 'summon' 2	WARNE
LETTE 'prevent' 2	

(r) The sequence NP PRED plausibly derived from nonfinite complement structures by deletion of TO BE. Some are NP AS PRED. Instances with the order PRED NP and with clausal NP or PRED are included (78 eggs).

i.34.16 'þi bileve haþ made þee saaf.'

FEYNE 'pretend' 2	MAKE 54
FINDE 2	ORDEYNE 'appoint' 2
GESSE 'think'	(PUTTE 2)
GRAUNTE 'admit'	SEE 8
(HAVE 5)	SHEWE
?HEERE	(TAKE 2 and see (f))
(HOLDE 'consider' 6)	(TELLE see (f))
JUGE	þENKE 3 (see (D))
KNOWE	TROWE 'believe' (see (v))

(s) The underlying sequence NP PRED as in (r), with NP passivized and in subject position (30 eggs).

i.192.22 Þe toþer kyng ... is comunli seide þe fend, ...

FINDE 2	SEE
(HOLDE 'consider' 3 see (E))	SEIE 2
MAKE 25	

5.2.1.3 Complement clauses as predicate after BE and in NP PRED.

(t) Finite clauses after BE; -WH complement (6 egs).

ii.256.8 Þe fifþe vertue of þis mercy is 'þat men
supporte togidere;' ...

The head of NP is CAUSE (2), CONSEIL AND BIDDING, WORD (2), VERTUE.

(u) Nonfinite clauses after BE. Subject not expressed except with BE of futurity or obligation where it is deleted by EQUI under identity to the matrix subject. There are 21 examples, including 8 with BE of futurity or obligation.

ii.250.2 Þe secounde lawe, of þe world, is to 3elde
good for good and yvel for yvel; ...

Head of NP in the others is: BISYNESSE, DEDE, DREDE, ENDE, LAWE (2), LORE, MANER (2), MEDECYNE, METE, ÞAT, VERTUE.

(v) Nonfinite clause as PRED: one example with 'future' interpretation.

ii.57.18 And, for þis is passid now, and we trowen not
þis aftir to come, ...

5.2.1.4 Finite complement clauses as deep subject.

(w) Finite -WH complement remaining in subject position.

i.90.3 and þat Crist touchide þis leprouse techip us
now þat þe manhede of Crist was instrument to his godhede, ...

There are no instances of this construction in the corpus, but ÞAT-clauses are found outside it as subject of BE (with various predicates), BITOKENE, TECHE, TELLE.

(x) Finite -WH complement as deep subject, clause extraposed.

IT is present except twice, with *PENKE*, *BE GOOD* (44 egs).

ii.56.1 and it is licly of þe gospel þat þis water
was closid wiþ stoon, ...

i.198.31 'Crist bade hem wende forþ and preche to þe
peple þat þe kyngdom of hevene shal come,' al if hem
þenke þat it dwelle longe; ...

BE 'be the case'
BE CERTEYNE
FALLE 'be appropriate, happen' 3
BE GOOD 3
BE YNOW3
BE JUST
BE LICELY 'be probable, seem probable' 3
SEME 19
BE SOP 'be true'
BE STRANGE
SUE 'follow'
SUFFICE
PENKE 'seem'
BE WORþ
BE WOUNDIRFUL 'be astonishing'

BE is also followed by various predicate phrases: *NEDE*, *KNOWUN ÞING* (2),
A FOUL ÞING, *FOR ÞE LESTE ÞING*. For examples of finite -WH clauses
which might be taken as the subject of NP PRED see (f) *TAKE*, *TELLE*
MYCHE.

5.2.1.5 Nonfinite complement clauses as deep subject.

(y) Deep nonfinite subject in subject position, with subject
unexpressed. (For examples with surface subject elsewhere in ME see
chapter 2). There are two clear examples, and two with reordering
(both with BE).

ii.79.25 'but to ete wiþ unwashen hondis foulþ not þus
a man.'
Matt 15.20 Non lotis autem manibus manducare, non
coinquinat hominem.

ii.77.15 And to seie opynli þat þou for3yvest þis synne
in God, is an open blasfemye, ...

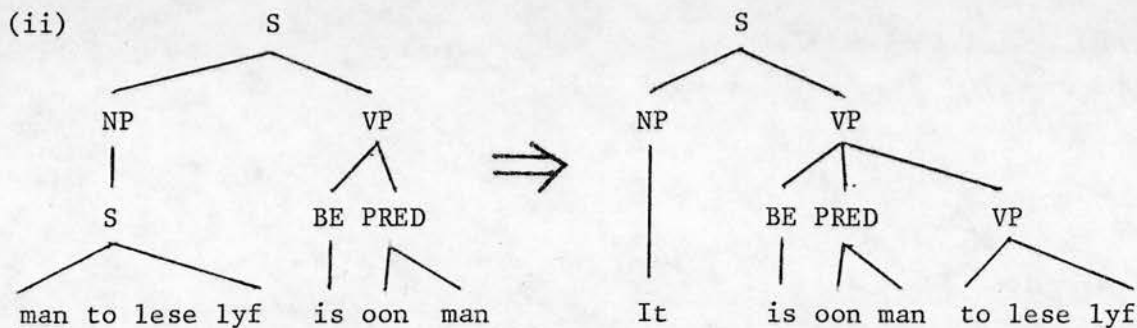
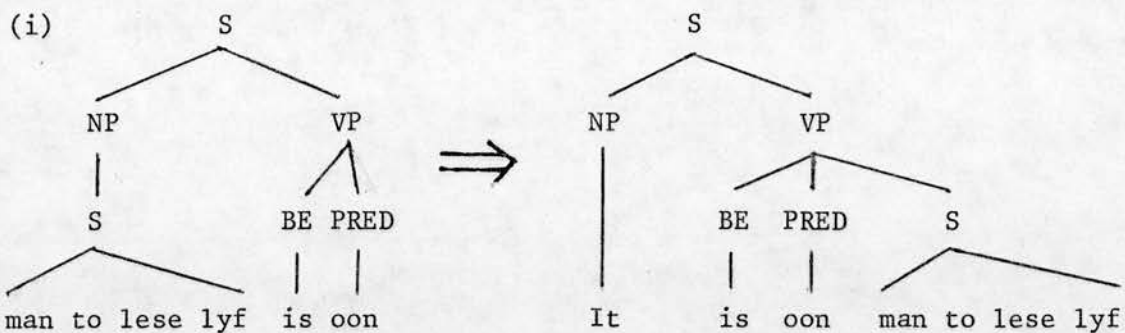
(z) (IT) VERB (TO NP/PP) TO VP. Nonfinite clause as deep subject, clause subject deleted by EQUI or unexpressed, clause extraposed, leaving IT except on 5 occasions. Instances where the 'affected' NP occurs preverbally, or where the sequence NP TO VP appears at the surface are dealt with in (A) and (C). (66 egs).

ii.81.33 And so it is nedeful to men to knowe, how ofte breed is taken.

BE (of obligation) 3
 DO GOOD
 FALLE 'happen, be appropriate' 6
 BE FERRE
 BE GOOD 3
 BE HARD 4
 HELPE
 BE YNOW3 7
 BE LEVEFUL 'be permissible' 3
 BE LI3T 'be easy'
 NEDE 'be necessary' 3
 BE NEDEFUL 'be necessary'
 BE OON 'be one and the same thing' 3
 PASSE 'exceed'
 BE PERTINENT 'be appropriate'
 PERTEYNE 'be appropriate'
 PROFITE 'be of advantage to'
 BE PROPER 'belong'
 BE SUFFRABLE 'be endurable'
 SUFFICE 2
 BE VEYN 'be pointless'

BE is also followed by noun phrases with various head nouns: ERROUR, NEDE (7), SYNNE (5), PING (3), UNTREUPE, VERTUE, WISDOM, WORSHIP.

(A) (IT) VERB NP TO VP. Nonfinite clause as deep subject, clause extraposed leaving IT except once with LONGE. This is neutralized with the structure in which there is a NP not introduced by a preposition in the matrix clause which controls EQUI, compare (i) and (ii). (4 egs).



i.184.2 it is al oon a man for to lese his lyf and
denye himsilf, or ellis to hate himsilf; ...

ii.89.11 Þes men sillen dowves, þat sillen werkes of
preestis, as sacraments, and oþer werkes þat longip
hem for to do.

BE AL OON	BE LEVEFUL 'be lawful'
BE GOOD	LONGE 'be appropriate'

(B) NP VERB ((TO) NP) TO VP. Nonfinite clause as deep subject,
clause subject is raised to become surface matrix subject, and TO VP
is placed at the end of VP.

i.229.15 And þis semep to many men to be seid of false
freris.

SEME 8

(C) NP VERB TO VP. Nonfinite clause as deep subject, clause
subject removed by EQUI, clause extraposed, and the oblique 'affected'
NP placed in subject position. When NP is not a case marked pronoun

the pattern may neutralize B:C:k, and neutralized instances have been placed here. Two instances with FALLE and NEDE are also neutralized with A. (10 eggs).

i.22.10 'delve may Y not,' and 'me shameþ for to begge; ...'
Luke 16.3 fodere non valeo, mendicare erubesco.

i.165.14 for keper of a vyneþerde falliþ þus to clense it, ...
'it is appropriate for the keeper of a vineyard to clean it
in this way.'

FALLE 3 neutralized
NEDE 2 neutralized, 1 oblique
SHAME 3 neutralized, 1 oblique

(D) Nonfinite clause as subject NP in NP PRED, clause subject unexpressed, and NP PRED reordered into surface PRED NP. There are 2 examples with main verb þENKE.

ii.226.7 And þerfore Cristene men shulden þenke shame
to cloþe hem above wiþ raggis, ...

(E) Nonfinite clause as subject NP in NP PRED, clause subject unexpressed, clause passivized and extraposed: there are two examples with main verb HOLDE.

ii.227.8 It is holden a greet worship to be a kingis sone
and his eire, ...

(F) NP ... PRED occurs with SEME 9 times, perhaps derived from a nonfinite subject complement by RAISING and deletion of TO BE.

ii.243.7 Þis lettre semeth sumwhat mysty, and þerfore
men tellen diverse wittis of it.

(G) NP BE ADJ ((TO) NP) TO V __. Here the subject NP is understood as the object of V.

(i) Probably derived from structure (a) of §5.1.3.2, with OBJECT RAISING from a nonfinite subject complement, and with complement clause subject unexpressed, deleted by EQUI under identity with (TO) NP, or retained:

ii.243.33 Many siche wittis ben not nedeful to us for
to cunne now.

BE (of obligation) 8	LEVEFUL 'permissible'
HARD 3	LI3T 2 (and ?once as attributive)
YVELE 'difficult'	NEDEFUL 3

(ii) Derived from structure (b) of §5.1.3.2, with an oblique nonfinite complement clause whose object is deleted by identity to the matrix subject: two corpus examples with PLENTEVOUS, WHITE.

It is worth noting here instances of nonfinite clause within the predicate of FALLE, YNOW3 (4) and NEDE, although these are only doubtfully to be treated as part of the basic subcategorization of the matrix expression.

i.200.19 warnesse of þes two is ynow3 to 3ou to dwelle
among men.

5.2.2 Clauses in restrictive and nonrestrictive apposition.

Finite clauses and infinitives may both occur in restrictive (or close) and nonrestrictive (or loose) apposition to a noun phrase as in examples (1)-(4). This relationship may be one for which the noun

- (1) ii.230.1 'for al3if Y have no conscience' þat Y
do a3ens Goddis wille, 3it it sueþ not hereof 'þat
Y am just' bifore God, ...
- (2) ii.64.33 For men failen in jugement for coveitise
of worldli goodis, and personel affecciouns, and
levyng to loke to Goddis wille.
- (3) ii.264.13 And þus þei feynen blasfeme gabbingis,
þat Crist beggid as þei done, ...
- (4) ii.264.16 And þus Poul telliþ a good medecine, to
rest in ordenaunce of Crist, and take no part
in þis newenesse ...

is subcategorized, and which often parallels that found between verb and complement clause (as in (2)); perhaps this relation defines restrictive clausal apposition (cf Huddleston 1971 p 198). Alternatively the relationship may be one of equivalence as in (4).

Nonrestrictive apposition may also involve a relationship of less strict equivalence between NP and the clause which rewords it. In PE such markers as namely, in other words, in particular etc may indicate this. For WSerE instances of the less strict equivalence see (27)-(34). Perhaps related to apposition is the restrictive construction of (5), dealt with in §5.1.6, where the corpus matrix expressions were listed.

- (5) i.225.2 'I shal confesse him bifore Goddis aungelis,'
how he was trewe servant to God.

It will not be further mentioned here.

The distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive apposition is one that depends essentially on the translator's judgement of the informational status of the clause. No sharp distributional difference appears, though (naturally) PIS is much more common as NP modifier with a nonrestrictive clause, and separation of the clause from NP is more common here too. The following distinction into these two types is, therefore, not a certain one. However, the two types as distinguished show different typical punctuation in the manuscript, which tends to support this classification (see §5.1.6). There are two areas of particular difficulty. Firstly, there is no sharp boundary between nonrestrictive appositional constructions and merely phoric relationships between noun phrases and subsequent (unintroduced) clauses. Secondly, a sharp boundary between infinitives with appositional and other functions (adjectival and adverbial) is similarly lacking, and the syntax of this area in PE is little understood. The first difficulty has been met by only recording here nonrestrictive clauses which are marked as complement clauses, or which pass one of the tests for direct speech given in §3.1.2, so that examples like the

following have not been included as appositional:

- (6) ii.224.30 Poulis wordis passen opere writingis in two
þingis - þei ben pure, sutil, and plentevous [sic MS] ...
- (7) ii.66.19 Matheu seiþ how Crist telliþ þis parable
to his Chirche. 'Þer was a man,' good 'housebonde,
þat plantide a vyn, ...'

The other major difficulty is well illustrated by the kind of structural neutralization found in (8)-(11). (8) seems fairly clearly not appositional, (9) clearly to be so, while (10) and (11) lie somewhere between. Kenyon (1909 p 35 et seq) remarks on the different semantic relations holding between abstract nouns and their dependent infinitives and provides a classification: I have, however, simply attempted to discriminate an appositional group (taking (9)-(11) to belong to it) as more suited to the amount of data at my disposal. Thus there are necessarily rather sharp limitations on the preciseness of the categorization made below, and these must be born in mind in reading it.

- (8) i.183.32 ... Crist 3yveþ a reule to kepe þes þree
þingis, ...
'Christ gives a rule by which to keep these three
things...'
- (9) i.176.24 and 3yve leve to þese freris to preche fablis
and heresies, and aftirward to spoile þe peple, ...
- (10) ii.251.33 God 3yve grace to þe Chirche to lerne þis
lessoun þat Poul techiþ!
'May God give the Church grace so that it may
learn this lesson .../the grace to learn this lesson.'
- (11) i.30.34 he 3af him virtue to herye God rigtli.
'he gave him spiritual strength so that/with which
he could praise God appropriately; he gave him the
spiritual power of praising God appropriately'

Finite clauses occur in restrictive apposition only half as frequently as nonfinite clauses, but they are nearly four times as frequent in nonrestrictive apposition, and a finite restrictive clause is extraposed proportionately twice as frequently as a nonfinite clause.

Finite clauses are thus clearly more positionally independent than infinitives in these constructions.

	¹ PAT- clause	WH- clause	Direct Speech	TO VP
Restrictive Apposition	29(7)	10(1)		84(7)
Nonrestrictive Apposition	61	16	24	21

Here likely figures for extraposed restrictive clauses are given in brackets: because of the occurrence of phrases which may (or may not) be postmodifiers of the noun phrase, it is not possible to give precise figures. For examples see (9), (10), (12)-(14) and §5.1.3 (60)-(63).

- (12) ii.223.15 for Goddis ordenaunce was þanne upon
him þat he shulde þanne come to blis, ...
- (13) ii.248.34 for oure hope shulde be in God þat he
helpe us in þis wey, ...
- (14) ii.231.14 And herfore Crist 3af ensample to us
to fle sicche jugementis.

Most of the WH-clauses are introduced by HOW (9/10, 15/16 respectively) often in the weakened sense where it is nearly equivalent to ¹PAT. This perhaps accounts for the rather striking difference here between these ¹PAT:WH figures and those produced by Huddleston (1971 pp 197-8) for restrictive apposition: 148:8. The Wyclifite corpus incidence of non-finite clauses in apposition is also high by comparison with Huddleston's corpus, and, since PE has nonfinite P + VERBING for some ME infinitives, that of the infinitive is remarkably so.

Restrictive finite clauses are introduced by ¹PAT (29 eggs, and only doubtfully deleted) or, if questions, mainly by HOW (9 eggs). There is also one instance of a WH-clause that is not introduced by HOW:

- (15) i.167.36 Þou maist knowe þat þis man is oper a
bishop or in sich office, but wheþer he shal wende
to hevene, God haþ hid þe knowinge fro þee; ...

With no WH-clause is there a preposition between noun and clause as so commonly in PE, though there is a similar relationship between the head noun and HOW S in examples like (16) and (23) which would suggest derivation from a deeper PP. Here perhaps the opposition HOW : *þ*PAT enables WSerE to encode a distinction which requires an overt preposition in PE.

- (16) ii.66.18 *þ*is gospel telliþ a parable how Crist
shulde be slayn wiþ þe Jewis.

The only noun phrase which requires comment is *þ*PAT. It occurs in the sequences IN *þ*PAT *þ*PAT or, less frequently, BY *þ*PAT *þ*PAT (no examples in the corpus), and possibly FOR *þ*PAT *þ*PAT.

- (17) i.2.4 And here may we see þat [sic MS] neiþer
riche men ne pore, in þat þat [sic MS] þey ben
sich, be blessid in hevene; ...
- (18) i.202.10 In þat þat [sic MS] he is God, he is ende
of al þing, and in him we lyven, we moven, and
we ben; ...
- (19) ii.293.21 Petir telliþ aftir of þe wilful peyne
þat Crist suffride for mankynde, by þat þat,
'Crist offride himsilf' to Pilat, 'þat jugide
him unriȝtfulli.'
- (20) ii.282.2 and so þis grete man haþ maad aseep
bi Crist for þat þat he synnede in Adam.
(?'for that which' cf OED Sin, v. 2.a. quotation
cl315)

The corpus contains IN *þ*PAT *þ*PAT in this sense 8 times:* Arnold's edition incorrectly prints IN *þ*PAT for 4 of these. There is also one instance of IN *þ*PAT where MS E has IN *þ*PAT *þ*PAT (ii.65.16), and this occurs at the end of a line in Bod 788. Otherwise IN *þ*PAT S is not found in the

* i.2.5,20, i.20.1, i.35.23,26, i.202.10, ii.53.32,33, and IN *þ*PAT ii.65.16. For a possible example of BY *þ*PAT *þ*PAT with EXTRAPOSITION see i.45.29; a more dubious cataphoric *þ*PAT in i.28.24; cf Visser (I §502) for a few examples.

corpus. IN PAT PAT also occurs in the sense 'in whatever', as probably at ii.248.20.

The head nouns of phrases introducing restrictive PAT-complements are:*

BILEVE, CONSCIENCE (2), DEMYNGE, DOUTE, EXCUSYNG, FEIP, FIGURE
GRAUNT 'assurance', HOPE (2), ORDENAUNCE, SIGNE, SOP, PAT (9),
TOKEN (2), VEIN GLORIE, WITNESSE, WITT, WORD.

- (21) ii.85.11 'In þis is þe word sop, þat he is oþer
þat sowiþ, and oþir is he þat repiþ.'
- (22) ii.242.7 And þis derknesse haþ wiþ him Goddis witt
þat þes men shulen be dampned.

The head nouns of phrases introducing restrictive WH-complements are:

DREDE, KNOWINGE, MYNDE, PARABLE (2), REKENYNGE, STORY,
TALE, TREUPE, WORD.

- (23) ii.259.33 It falliþ to telle a short word how þe
þridde newe sect, ... failiþ now in charite.
- (24) i.2.22 'Sone, have mynde how þou haddist lust in
this lyfe, and Lazar peyne. ...'

Restrictive nonfinite clauses are not found in the corpus with a surface subject or with plain infinitive, so the only forms involved are TO VP and FOR TO VP. Combinations with HAVE and 3YVE, like those illustrated above (9)-(11) are fairly common, but only GRACE, LEVE, NEDE of the nouns which occur more than twice are restricted to constructions with verbs of having and lacking.

The head nouns of phrases introducing restrictive infinitive complements are:

* Three further instances involve it is no drede S. They may be parenthetical or may be the only instances of PAT DELETION here apart from IN PAT; eg i.203.26. In these lists I underline nouns which are also found as subject or predicate of an equative BE sentence with the appropriate complement clause as predicate or subject.

AUTORITE, BISYNESSE (3), CONSEIL, CONSENSE, COVENAUNT, CHESYNG, CUSTOM, DESIRE (2), DETTE, DREDE, ENSAUMPLE (4), ENTENT, GRACE (3), HOPE (6), JOIE, LEVE 'permission' (8), LEVYNG 'failing' (2), LORE, MANDEMENT, MANER, NEDE (6), OFFICE, POWER (17), PURPOS (3), REDINES, SYNNE, TOKEN, VERTUE (8), PINKYNG, WILLE (8).
(4 conjoined pairs, hence 84 examples).

(25) i.188.8 þis power to defoule eddris, and to defoule
scorpiouns, is power to overcome þe fendis ...

(26) i.166.5 and wiþ þis þei done not þer office to
quykene oþer branchis; ...

Nonrestrictive apposition can be dealt with more briefly. Examples with direct speech occur here, and many of these (as many ÞAT-clauses) follow ÞUS. Since ÞUS may also mean 'accordingly, and so; therefore' (OED Thus, adv. 2) it is often not possible to distinguish ÞUS in apposition to a clause, and the problem has been resolved as described in §1.7.4. Since the heads here are much more varied than with restrictive clauses, I only instance those which are found more than once.

Nonrestrictive appositional ÞAT-clauses: 61 examples. Heads which occur more than once:

ENTENT (3), GABBING (2), LAWE (2), MANERE (2), ÞING (3), ÞIS (14 + HERBI, HEREINNE), ÞUS (12), UNKNOWINGE (2), WORD (4).

(27) ii.263.8 but Poul confessiþ his ignoraunce þat
he not wheþer he was ravishid in bodi or out of
bodi, bi his spirit taken fro his bodi.

(28) i.174.19 But oo confort lieþ here, þat as Crist
convertide summe þat weren men of þe world, so
shulen hise disciplis do.

Nonrestrictive appositional WH-clauses: 16 examples (15 with HOW). Head nouns occurring more than once: LORE (2), WITT (2).

(29) i.168.3 it is wel seid þou maist not see þis point
of þi bileve, which ben lymes of holi Chirche, but
þou shalt trowe þe general.

- (30) i.20.23 Þe knowyng of sicke signes shewip wel þer fruyte, how þei ben chargeous to þe peple, and fals in þer entent; ...

Nonrestrictive appositional direct-speech clauses: 24 examples pass the tests of §3.1.2. Heads which occur more than once: MANER (2), ÞUS (14), WORD (6).

- (31) ii.72.5 þanne man makip þis confessioun: Fadir, Y have synned in hevene and bifore þee.

- (32) i.27.5 'Þe Pharise ... preiede þes þingis bi himsilf; God, Y þanke þee for Y am not as oþir men of þe world, ...'

Nonrestrictive appositional infinitives: 21 examples. Here too there are no instances of nonfinite clause with subject. Head nouns occurring more than once:

ENDE (2), ÞIS (9).

- (33) ii.230.31 And þis moveþ many men to flee mannis jugement, boþe to be juge and witnesse, and to plete in þis market; ...

- (34) i.16.13 and þis were blasfemye in God, to leeve þe worse and dampne þe beter.

5.3 The Major Semantically Relevant Oppositions of the Complement System

5.3.1 The complement system is partly defined by the opposition between subordinate direct speech and indirect clause; within indirect clauses the two major oppositions are finite : nonfinite clause and WH : non-WH-clause.

The most basic distinction characterized by the finite : nonfinite opposition is apparently that between the expression of a 'proposition' (generally = finite clause) and reference to a situation, event or action whether real or potential (generally = nonfinite clause, but also finite clause). The finite clause is unmarked member of the

opposition and may occur neutralizing it. Thus the basis of the division is like that of PE, but finite clauses occur more widely. Here 'proposition' means a linguistic or mental representation, the object of report or belief; it is what is expressed in a main sentence or in a THAT-clause after such verbs as KNOW, SAY. On the other hand, the object of verbs like WANT, NEED, PREVENT, CAUSE, AVOID, FAIL, BEGIN is presumably a (potential) action, event or situation and not a 'proposition'. Essentially this distinction is shown by many verbs when constructed with ¹PAT-clause as against nonfinite clause (as with PE TELL, TEACH, MEAN, FORGET, etc) though the distinction is not always hard and fast, and there are other verbs for which such a distinction is not discernible, as with verbs of wishing, LETTE, MAKE, HELPE, HOPE, SEME, etc, and expressions with sentential subject: BE GOOD, BE NEDEFUL, BE YNOW3, etc. But even if the distinction is neutralized in such cases, and is not always made elsewhere, it underlies the contrasts presented below. These are not all absolute, but are at least true of the general usage of WSerE.

Verbs showing finite : nonfinite contrast
(including some information from OED, MED)

	<u>(NP) TO VP</u>	<u>¹PAT S</u>
CASTE	'to plan to do'	'to consider that', 'to plan'
DENYE, FORSAKE	'to refuse to do'	'to deny that'
?EXCUSE	'to excuse oneself from doing'	'to say that ... in excuse'
?3YVE, GRAUNTE	'to permit' ('to acknowledge')	'to give a point, acknowledge, declare' ('to permit')
GRUTCHE	'to refuse to do'	'to grumble that'

	<u>(NP) TO VP</u>	<u>PAT S</u>
LEVE	'to stop doing'	'to reject the belief or notion'
LERNE, TECHE	a habit or ability	a fact
MOVE	'to encourage to do'	'to move a proposal'
SEIE	'to order to do' ('to say that')	'to say that'
TAKE	'to undertake', 'to deduce that one should'	'to deduce that'
PENKE, TROWE, WENE	'to intend to do', 'to think that'	'to think that'
WARNE	'to warn to do'	'to warn that', 'to warn that one should'

The general importance of this basic distinction shows up elsewhere. Thus finite and nonfinite clauses after verbs of ordering and requesting are distinctively distributed with respect to one another, and it seems fair to suggest that the PAT-clause is nearer to propositional representation than the nonfinite clause (this is discussed below in §5.3.2). Similarly, there is a distributional distinction between finite and nonfinite clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and saying (discussed in chapter 6) which can also be explained as a reflection of the more basic opposition. Thus, though this characterization of the difference between finite and nonfinite clauses is by no means without exceptions, and indeed, represents a considerable generalization, it seems to be broadly justifiable.

The major semantically relevant oppositions of the complement system, to draw some previous conclusions together, are as follows:

Direct speech : indirect clause.

Then, within indirect clauses:

Finite : nonfinite. As a broad generalization, we may say that

nonfinite clauses tend to refer to some (potential) real world event, action or state, while finite clauses rather indicate a propositional (even a linguistic) representation, and may neutralize the distinction, eg with LETTE, MAKE or in double negative contexts. The opposition has special results with verbs of ordering, and verbs of thinking, knowing and saying.

WH-clause : non-WH-clause. This opposition holds for finite and nonfinite clauses in LME. Within finites we must distinguish between indirect question : indirect exclamation, and note the closely similar headless relative. The existence of HOW used with reduced force leads to a subsidiary opposition:

PAT : HOW. Between HOW used to indicate a summary or narrative, and PAT.

Indirect statement : indirect speech. There is possibly a separate category of indirect speech which shows indirect deictics along with certain features of direct speech.

Assertion : nonassertion. Within PAT-clauses at least a distinction which may be interpreted as that between 'asserted' and 'nonasserted' clauses shows up in the applicability of some main clause word order features in the 'asserted' type.

Subjunctive : indicative. Within the complement system the subjunctive is used in some clause types where the matrix construction does not involve a claim about truth value: it occurs normally with verbs of ordering, requesting, asking and ensuring, with verbs of evaluation, and in some WHEPIR ('yes/no') questions. It is less clear that this opposition has such a value elsewhere. The subjunctive may

also indicate tentativity or hypotheticalness as in main sentences.

Within the category 'subjunctive' there is a further opposition:

Inflectional subjunctive : shulde. Shulde is used in opposition to the inflectional subjunctive after verbs of ordering, requesting, asking and wishing in order to indicate that an order or precept has been issued which places the subject of the subordinate clause under an obligation.

5.3.2 On the opposition between finite and nonfinite clauses after verbs of ordering and requesting.

In the foregoing section I claimed that the basic semantic value there suggested for the opposition finite : nonfinite could be interpreted as holding after verbs of ordering and requesting, and here I try to make that claim good.

BIDDE shows an interesting difference in distribution between NP (TO) VP and (NP) ¹PAT S. It seems that with the finite clause, the force of what is commanded or requested is typically general: ie, that something should be the case for the future, and not that something specific should be done at a definite time. The difference is that between:

- (1) ii.256.16 'And over þes sixe' biddiþ Poul 'þat
men shulden have charite,' ...
Coloss 3.14 Super omnia autem haec, charitatem
habete, ...
- (2) i.183.10 Þe secounde word þat Crist seiþ, þat men
shulden take her crosse, biddiþ þat men shulden
make hem redi to suffre for Goddis love; ...

and:

- (3) i.22.20 'And he badde him take his lettris,' bi
which he was bounden, 'and wryte foure score.'
Luke 16.7 Ait illi: Accipe litteras tuas, et
scribe octoginta.

- (4) i.37.35 and þus Y rede þat God bad foulis and
pore folk fede his prophete, and fedde him as best
was to profite of his soule.

Here the first pair (1) and (2) involve a general injunction or precept, and the second pair (3) and (4) a particular command. This distinction holds more widely, in that finite clauses most commonly have general force, while nonfinite clauses tend to report particular commands. This distributional difference may be accounted for as part of the general finite : nonfinite opposition if we are willing to grant the soundness of this intuition: that when a general precept or request is uttered, the subordinate clause is less sharply to be characterized as an action or state, and more open to characterization as a verbal representation or statement reporting the obligation, than is the case with a particular and readily fulfillable order or request. For the author(s) of the sermons many of the precepts may indeed have achieved recognition as such, and have existed already independently in the form in which they are reported. But here, leaving this aside, I would like to rely on the intuition stated above, and suggest that the opposition finite : nonfinite has been interpreted with BIDDE (where both constructions are available) as one between reported instances which are more like statements, and those which are less like statements. Since BIDDE occurs with reported direct speech we might even say that þAT-clauses here were indirect statements, and then remark that precepts were what typically achieved that status. At all events, we can conclude that the finite : nonfinite opposition shows up with a particular interpretation with BIDDE (and perhaps with other verbs of ordering).*

* The sharpness of this distinction may owe something to shulde which perhaps carries with it the implication 'ought to' (see §3.4.4). But since the distinction holds also for clauses containing shal or the subjunctive it must have an independent existence.

I will here say more about the distributional distinction with BIDDE, then consider other verbs. The notion of 'precept', in terms of which the difference in distribution was characterized, is a difficult one to apply precisely to the text, particularly in instances like the following:

- (5) i.280.21 and he biddip at his departing þat þei
shulden teche alle folk; ...
'at his departure Christ ordered that they should
teach all nations'
- (6) i.18.26 but we shal wite þat our Jesus Crist dide
more miracle, and bad hise disciplis serve þe puple
at þe mete, to teche us þat we ben mynysters and
not autours of miracle.

In the first case here, the command is interpretable as a precept (most probably), but also as a particular and fulfillable command; in the second case it seems most likely that the reference is to the particular command given to the disciples on the occasion of the feeding of the four thousand, but it is possible that hise disciplis has been generalized (as frequently) to embrace all Christ's followers, in which case it would be a precept. Recognising, then, that the interpretation of many instances is not cut and dried, and omitting a few undecidable cases, I find that 'precepts' and 'particular commands' are distributed as follows:

	PAT S	NP TO VP
'precept'	27, 84	25, 47
'particular command'	2 6	13, 23

Here the first figure is for the corpus, and the second for a wider collection of instances. Instances of BIDDE NP VP which may involve direct speech are included: omitting them does not change the

proportions found. 'Particular commands' with \dot{P} AT S are found at i.31.1,2; i.114.5; i.370.28; ii.27.24; ii.308.13. Note that the sequence (TO) NP \dot{P} AT S is found in one quarter of \dot{P} AT S instances, so a simple preference for NP TO VP where there is an addressee is not in question. These results are statistically highly significant: clearly then, there is a correlation between 'particular command' and the avoidance of \dot{P} AT S which is perhaps to be explained as outlined above. There are other distributional differences which may be regarded as supportive: principally that the subject of the \dot{P} AT-clause, when it represents the person obliged by the order, is never in the corpus a limited group of individuals: reference is always to a nondenumerable set. But the same is by no means true of the NP in NP TO VP: here there are many instances of definite individuals.

With other verbs of ordering we find a similar variation between \dot{P} AT S and NP TO VP, though the data is not so plentiful. If we may regard examples like (7) and (8) where the petitions are surely general, as parallel to 'precepts', then AXE, FORBEDE, PREIE (and perhaps COMANDE) show the same distinction as BIDDE. There is at any rate no reason to object to the generalizing of the distinction found with BIDDE to verbs of ordering as a group.

- (7) ii.252.26 And Crist techiþ men to preie him þat
he forgeve hem þis dette, but riȝt as þei
forȝyven her dettours.

- (8) i.148.27 þei axen þer owne dampnyng in þe fifte
peticioun, for þer þei axen þat God forȝyve hem
þer dettis þat þei owen to hym, riȝt as þei forȝyven
men þat ben dettours unto hem.

Beside such cases we find infinitives like (9) and (10), and though we find \dot{P} AT-clauses with particular force more commonly than with BIDDE,

cf (11) and (12), they are not proportionately as common as nonfinite clauses. Moreover, since instances with 'particular' force after PREIE are nearly all prayers to deity it may be that these also show a resemblance to indirect statements.

- (9) i.235.28 þe disciplis comen and axiden Crist, to
telle hem whanne þis shulde be,' ...
Matt 24.3 dicentes: Dic nobis, quando haec erunt?
- (10) i.12.28 ...'Crist ... preiede him to move it a
litel fro þe lond,' ...
Luke 5.3 rogavit eum a terra reducere pusillum.
- (11) ii.151.14 'Y preye not,' seiþ Crist, 'þat þou
take hem now out of þe world, but þat þou kepe
hem from yvel,' ...
John 17.15 Non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo,
sed ut serves eos a malo.
- (12) i.377.6 'and she seide to him, Comaunde þat þes
two apostlis, ... sitte next þee in þi rewme, ...'
Matt 20.21 Ait illi: Dic ut sedeant hi duo
filii mei, ...

To conclude, it seems that the opposition between finite and nonfinite clauses which generally involves a distinction between 'propositions' or 'statements' on the one hand, and 'situations', 'events' or 'actions' on the other is found also after verbs of ordering and requesting, in particular with AXE, BIDDE and PREIE. Here we may suggest that those complements which are to be regarded as nearest to some verbal representation in that they are precepts or prayers tend to show a finite clause, while other complements typically show a nonfinite clause. The soundness of this conclusion, however, depends on the validity of the intuition on which it is based.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a survey of complement clause structures and of the rules operating within them, a distributional statement of the structures found in the corpus, and a (largely recapitulative) account of the major oppositions found within the complement system. The chapter has been largely descriptive, but has also yielded several results of quite particular interest: the distinction between 'asserted' and 'nonasserted' PAT-clauses in the availability of main clause reordering processes; the characterization of CLAN-sentences as containing a complement clause and as probably connex; the occurrence of a 'structure preserving' movement rule, particularly in WH-clauses; the possible distinction between movement and deletion processes affecting subject position of finite and nonfinite clauses; and, finally, the characterization of the general finite : nonfinite opposition with its particular manifestation after verbs of ordering and requesting.

CHAPTER 6 NONFINITE CLAUSES AFTER VERBS OF KNOWING, THINKING AND DECLARING

6.0 Introduction

A major part of the general grammar of complement clauses has been presented in chapters 2-5 and this and the following chapters will deal with more particular topics which are both interesting in themselves and necessary to complete our view of complement clauses.

Although some reference will be made here to the use of an infinitive produced by EQUI after verbs of knowing and thinking, as in (1)-(3), the topic of this chapter is essentially the occurrence of monotransitive nonfinite clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, where EQUI has not removed the subject. The deep subject need not occupy post-verbal position: it may have been removed, for example, by relative clause movement, or by passive (yielding the 'second passive'). For examples see (15)-(26) below. In this chapter I will for convenience of expression use the term 'infinitive clause' to refer to such surface infinitives whose subject has not been removed by EQUI: thus the term covers surface connex NP TO VP, as well as NP ... TO VP resulting from a deep monotransitive structure as above, but not ditransitive NP-TO VP, or TO VP affected by EQUI.

Initially the use of infinitive clauses after certain verbs of declaring, knowing and thinking seemed interesting because of two apparent restrictions in WSerE. SEIE occurred with surface NP TO VP* only when rendering Latin, although the 'second passive' apparently

* The preciser (NP TO VP) will not be necessary in this chapter.

occurred freely; and with verbs of knowing and thinking infinitive clauses seemed typically to occur when the subject NP had been moved from post-verbal position. Since LME saw the spread of infinitive clauses after such verbs, as after verbs of wishing, this seemed worth investigating in more detail, and in order to do so it was necessary to make extensive use of data from the Wyclifite Bible. However it is possible to shed considerable light on the situation in WSerE as a result of this wider investigation, which forms a necessary extension to a full account of complement structures.

Briefly to introduce the preliminary results of this chapter: it is clear, firstly, that in the existence of different versions of the Wyclifite Bible we have a valuable tool for the investigation of ME whose significance has hitherto not been realized. Secondly, it seems that the account of the development of the infinitive clause given by Bock (1931, esp p 243 et seq) is not fully adequate. His explanation refers the change to two influences: Latin and the native NP PRED construction. He seems, furthermore, to interpret the contribution of NP PRED to have been essentially the creation of a construction NP TO BE PRED. But WSerE and the Wyclifite Bible realize infinitive clauses where they involve minimal alterations to previous structures quite generally, and the actual structuring of the change is quite complex: it interestingly results in patterns of usage which are closely parallel to those found today.

In what follows, I first describe the situation in WSerE, then that in the Wyclifite Bible (hereafter 'WBib') and in two other collections of data, and finally I attempt to interpret the results as an ongoing change and to cope also with the striking parallelism with PE. Throughout the focus is on verbs of knowing, thinking

and declaring, but some occasional reference is made to the construction as it occurs with verbs of wishing.

6.1 The Construction in the Wyclifite Sermons

6.1.1 The data.

The simplest way to present the data here is by means of a table which lists it. Figures are those for the corpus; additional examples follow a plus sign. Not all verbs in the groups involved have been included: only those followed by an infinitive clause, or relevant to the future discussion.

	<u>PAT S</u>	<u>NP ... TO VP</u>	<u>NP TO VP</u>	<u>TO VP</u>	<u>NP PRED</u>
(UN)KNOWE	21	?+1			1 +2
WITE	51	?+1 (or <u>NP PRED</u>)	+1	1	+1
BILEVE	5	+1			
DOUTE		+1		+1	
DEME				+1	
GESSE	3		1 +1	1	1 +1
HOPE	3	+1		3	
JUGE			1 +1		
SUPPOSE	9	+1			
TROWE	9			+4	?1 (or <u>NP TO VP</u>)
PEENKE	17	?+1		1 +3	3 +4
WENE	3			3 +5	
BOSTE	2		+1		
CONFESSE	1		1		
GRAUNTE	8		+1		1
SEIE	236	2 +6	1 +1		
TECHE	25	+1			
COVEITE	1		+1	7	
WILLE	26			2 (Ø VP passive)	

NP ... TO VP indicates a surface infinitive clause whose subject has been removed by transformation; necessary distinctions of meaning have

been drawn. Thus DEME 'sentence', GRAUNTE 'permit', SEIE 'order' etc are not included in the figures above or in later WBib figures.

In comparison with PE two things are striking about this data. Firstly the use of TO VP after verbs of knowing and thinking, frequently in a sense 'expect (that)' or 'think (that)', as in this series of texts related to John 16.2:

- (1) i.322.29 þei turmenten just men. And þe synne
was þe more, and blyndenesse of witt also, for
þei wenden to do wel in þis.
- (2) i.211.3 for þei þou3ten obeishe to God in killinge
of Cristene men.
- (3) i.240.7 3e florishen 3oure synne in killinge of
martiris; for, as Crist seiþ to þis kyn, þei
demen in þis to obeishe to God.
- (4) John 16.2. LV. but the our cometh, that ech man
that sleeth 3ou, deme that he doith servyce to
God.
sed venit hora, ut omnis qui interficit vos,
arbitretur obsequium se praestare Deo.

The second point is the low incidence of infinitive clauses when compared with ÞAT S and TO VP. It is difficult to provide a fair comparison with PE. Huddleston (1971) gives figures for scientific English which I use below, but the difference in register is doubtless important. However the proportionate incidence of infinitive clauses after such verbs seems likely to be much lower than in a corresponding text in PE.

Subordinate clauses with verbs meaning 'think' 'expect' 'know'

	THAT	Infinitive clause	TO VP
Huddleston's PE	63	20	5
Sermon Corpus	122	2 (?3)	9

Here instances of ÞENKE, WENE TO VP better glossed 'intend' have been excluded. Huddleston (1971 §§4.3.2, 4.3.3) supplies the data. From

it I have extracted figures for verbs like ASSUME, BELIEVE, CONSIDER, EXPECT, HOLD, HOPE, THINK.

The actual examples may be grouped as follows: for the sake of completeness I have listed some instances which should probably not be analysed as containing infinitive object clauses.

- (a) Surface NP TO VP: with BOSTE, CONFESSE, COVEITE, GESSE, GRAUNTE, JUGE, SEIE, WITE.
- (5) i.136.5 þei myȝte not pleyner shewen hem to have
 no sicche power þan fer to bargayn herwiþ, and boste
 hem to have sicche power.
- (6) i.196.21 And þanne Crist wole confesse þis man to
 be trewe in Goddis cause, ...
- (7) ii.369.33 'Y coveite ȝou to blis' in clene mercy,
 and no symonie, and þat is 'þe entrailis of Jesus
 Crist.'
 Phil. 1.8 cupiam omnes vos in visceribus Jesu Christi.
- (8) ii.229.7 þei ȝyven no mater to gesse hem to be
 mynysters of Crist, ...
 '(by their behaviour) they give us no grounds for
 thinking that they are ministers of Christ.'
- (9) ii.366.27 Al þes fendis han witt and power to move
 mennis hertis and oþer lymes, aftir þat þei gessen
 men to be temptid to a goostli synne.
- (10) ii.94.6 'for þanne conspiriden þe Jewis, þat ȝif
 ony graunte him to be Crist, he shulde be put
 out of þe chirche.'
 John 9.22 ut si quis eum confiteretur esse
 Christum, extra synagogam fieret.
- (11) ii.67.34 þei jugiden hem to obeishe to God for
 pursuyng and killing of Crist; ...
 cf John 16.2 and the parallel i.154.2
- (12) i.348.27 'But Crist axide his disciplis, whom
 þei seiden him to be.'
 Matt. 16.15 Dicit illis Jesus: Vos autem quem
 me esse dicitis?
- (13) i.170.25 And þus seiþ Crist, 'þat he seiþ hise
 apostlis to be hise frendis from henneforþ, ...'
 John 15.15 Vos autem dixi amicos, ...

and see i.154.26 quoted as (9) in §2.1.1.

- (14) i.312.10 And so we ben more certified of maidenhed
of oure Ladi; for Joseph, 3if he wiste hir have
knowe man bifore, for repreef he wolde have told
it.

This last example is unusual in having unmarked infinitive and HAVE.
Note that it is very definitely nonfactive, a contrastive value
assigned to such constructions in PE by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971).

- (b) Surface TO VP with movement of the subject, or deletion
not involving EQUI: the 'second passive' occurs with
HOPE, SEIE and perhaps with UNKNOWE; other instances
with BILEVE, DOUTE, SUPPOSE, TECHE, ?TELLE, ?PENKE,
?TROWE, ?WITE.

- (15) ii.280.33 First 'he was bishop of goodis of blis,'
þe which goodis ben hopid to come.
- (16) i.125.2 Þat man is seid to have a fend whom þe
fend disseyvþ, as he is seid to have an heed
þat is hedid bi þis hede; ...
'... as the man who is dominated by a head is
said to have this head'
- (17) i.276.6 And so Crist is seid to turne agen fro
bridalis on two maneris.
- (18) i.288.23 For at þe dai of dome þes uncunynge
prelatiþ þat can not þis lore shal be unknowun
for to come to blisse; ...
(But perhaps this is better taken as OED Unknown,
A. adj. 3.a. 'Ignorant (of), unskilled in.' Note
infinitive in 1475 quotation.)

For other 'second passives' with SEIE see: i.179/180, 180.2, 266.8,
408.33, ii.366.9 and cf also i.188.18 with WRITE.

- (19) ii.388.2 but þis pope or þese prelatiþ we shulden
not bileve to be of Cristis Chirche; ...
- (20) i.116.2 But what man wolde by skile be þus chastisiþ
of his broþer, for mannisiþ obedience þat he doutiþ
to be a fend?
'But what man would, in accordance with what is
reasonable, be thus chastised by his brother, for
the sake of obedience to a man who he thinks/fears
may be a fiend?'

- (21) ii.174.2 for Goddis werk shulde not be lettid
for þing þat men supposen to falle.
'for God's work should not be hindered because
of something which men assume may take place'
- (22) i.303.23 a perel in þe Chirche, þat Poul tauhte
for to come, is, þat Anticrist hiȝe him above
Crist, ...
- (23) i.106.20 Sixe þingis tellip Crist to come in his
passioun.
(but probably NP + adjectival infinitive)
- (24) i.339.6 For ȝif men þenken Goddis lawe sharp, and
to lette avauntage of þis world, men of þis world ...
wolen haten hem þat puplisshen it.
- (25) ii.57.18 And, for þis is passid now, and we trowen
not þis aftir to come, ...
- (26) i.326.14 Judas ... whom Crist wiste þanne to traye
him.
(cf John 6.65 LV. For Jhesus wiste fro the
bigynnynge, which weren bilevynges, and who was
to bitraye him. = et quis traditurus esset eum,
but John 13.11 who was he that shulde bitraye
him = quisnam esset qui traderet eum.)

6.1.2 Interpretation.

It seems clear that we are dealing here with the leading edge of a change. For SEIE these infinitive clause examples are among the earliest known (EV and LV), while for nearly half of the other verbs these instances predate the earliest citation with this construction found in MED, OED, Visser III.2 or Zeitlin (1908):

BILEVE 1443 (Visser §2079), CONFESSE early 16th century (Zeitlin p 100), DOUTE 1523 (Visser §2079), HOPE 1603 (§2076), TECHE 1449 (§2081), ÞENKE 1479 (§2079). Scrutiny of these examples, moreover, would seem to show that the change cannot have proceeded merely by the insertion of TO BE into NP PRED as indicated by Bock (1931). For verbs of declaring (with the exception of SEIE), the incidence of TO BE is high. But with verbs of thinking and knowing two other

factors are clearly important. The first is the relationship between nonfinite structures in which the subject NP has been moved and parallel finite structures, in which the verb is not always morphologically distinctively finite. The second is the occurrence of infinitives as predicates: thus TO COME with future reference as in TO BE TO COME is particularly frequent in the instances cited above, and note also TO FALLE in (21) and TO TRAYE in (26). These cannot all be analyzed as NP PRED in WSerE since (as far as one can see from the citations of MED, OED, Visser, Zeitlin 1908) several of these verbs probably did not occur with the sequence NP PRED in ME: CONFESSE, DOUTE, HOPE, TECHE, UNKNOWE, (but KNOWE did), while others are perhaps dubious, in particular BILEVE which is not cited with NP PRED in OED, MED though there is an instance in LV at Hebr. 11.11. The evidence here is not copious, but the direction in which it points is unmistakable. We must add to Bock's account at least two other surface alterations: the reinterpretation of NP TO VP formerly NP PRED as an infinitive clause; and the reinterpretation of NP ... ambiguous finite VP by the insertion of TO as NP ... TO VP. Thus in WSerE we find a high incidence of infinitive clauses with verbs of thinking and knowing which show relative clause movement or topicalization of the subject, or which contain a future referring infinitive, especially TO COME: indeed 4 out of 12 instances contain both of these apparently predisposing features. The situation may be more complex than this: thus with HOPE (15) and UNKNOWE (18), as with most examples of SEIE, eg (16), the 'second passive' occurs, and this has no ready surface analogy. But the surface analogies appealed to above must form part of any explanation of this change nonetheless: for further discussion see §6.3 below.

6.2 The Construction in the Wyclifite Bible and Two Other Sources

6.2.0 The sources of additional data.

Since it seemed that the occurrence of infinitive clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring was an interesting area of grammar and of grammatical change, raising questions which could not be answered from WSerE alone, I looked also at three other sets of examples. The first was simply those collected by Visser in his sections on 'VOSI' with 'Verbs of Mental Perception and Affection' and 'Verbs of Saying and Declaring' (Visser III.2 §2079, §2081). The others were more systematic. The second was a collection of instances from Chaucer put together from Einkenel (1887), Kenyon (1909), Bock (1931) and a search through Tatlock and Kennedy (1927) under the forms of the most important verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring. The third is a collection from WBib made by using a Vulgate concordance in a way to be described below almost immediately. These two collections are roughly contemporary with the sermons, and we might anticipate that they would share certain aspects of their grammar.

6.2.1 The value of the Wyclifite Bible.

The value of using the Wyclifite Bible is firstly that it is reasonably easy to amass a collection of examples by using a Vulgate concordance, and this represents a great saving in time and effort. But, more importantly, the differences between the versions are highly illuminating. What Forshall and Madden (1850) printed from various manuscripts as the Early Version (see Fristedt 1953 chapter 2) is a very literal translation of the Vulgate: it is not a gloss, but has been interpreted by Fristedt (1953) as the first revision of

a previous glossed version. Subsequent revisions culminated in the Later Version, for which a new policy of translation was adopted: it was above all to be a clear translation. To quote the prologue:

First it is to knowe, that the best translating is out of Latyn into English, to translate aftir the sentence, and not oneli aftir the wordis, so that the sentence be as opin, either openere, in English as in Latyn, and go not fer fro the lettre; and if the lettre mai not be suid in the translating, let the sentence evere be hool and open, for the wordis owen to serve to the entent and sentence, and ellis the wordis ben superflu either false.

(Prologue, Cap XV, p 57)

In the ensuing discussion of the resolution of Latin ablative absolute and present participle, the prologue says that such resolution "wole, in manie placis, make the sentence open, where to Englysshe it aftir the word, wolde be derk and douteiful." (Cap XV, p 57). Here the expressed concern is for clarity rather than idiomaticity: "I purposide, with Goddis helpe, to make the sentence as trewe and open in English as it is in Latyn, ..." (Cap XV, p 57). But clear translation must involve idiomaticity to some extent. Thus while we cannot assert that a construction found in LV would have been fully acceptable in LME prose, we can reasonably presume that where LV consistently and systematically rejects a construction found in EV, the relative degree of acceptability of the two constructions will have been a contributing factor. It has been generally accepted that the LV reviser(s) worked from EV: LV "is everywhere founded upon the previous translation" (Forshall & Madden 1850 vol 1 p xxviii) and Fristedt finds it clear that the reviser must have had the EV text before him (1969 p LVIII-LIX). So where LV consistently differs from EV in some respect we are indeed dealing with the rejection of EV's version; and where in a reasonable number of examples it seems plain that grammatical

construction is the main factor involved, we may interpret this as evidence for a difference in degree of acceptability of the construction itself. This must, of course, be interpreted as acceptability within a style with a certain degree of closeness to Latin: the evidence presented by Fristedt (1953, 1969) implies that we should view the versions of the Wyclifite Bible as consisting of a complex series of revisions which (generally) move steadily away from English styles closely modelled on Latin. We need not think of LV as occupying a single position on this Latin-English continuum, or as occupying the most English end: if Bock's claim (1931 p 238) that Trevisa's translation of Higden's Polychronicon always resolves infinitive clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring is correct, this is not the case. (See Fristedt 1973 for the claim that the Polychronicon was translated through a process parallel to that of the Wyclifite Bible.) Thus it seems likely that we should recognise texts, and presumably in consequence, registers of English with different degrees of approximation to Latin constructions, and despite the complex textual history of WBib and the potential unevenness of EV, LV in terms of their degree of closeness to Latin, we may interpret systematic differences between them in points of grammar as plausibly controlled by the restriction of acceptability of some constructions to Latin-related registers. This is not a black-and-white distinction, but essentially one of degree.

Here then we have a very valuable source of data about the relative acceptability of certain constructions to the reviser(s) of WBib in the late fourteenth century. Curiously, the importance of this comparative data does not seem to have been realized fully

before. In §6.2.3 below I hope to show in practice how useful it can be.

6.2.2 Infinitive clauses and Latin.

It has long been recognized that infinitive clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and saying were particularly appropriate to the idiom of Latin translation in the late fourteenth century. The general point is made by Bock (1931 p 231 et seq). It is worth fleshing this out with some detail from the three collections of examples referred to above, since the point is not apparent from WSerE.

If we look at the instances for verbs of thinking and knowing before 1450 given in Visser III.2 §2079, it is clear that nearly half are translations from Latin. Of 53 relevant instances, at least 24 (=45%) occur in translation from Latin, while another 18 are found in Pecock. For SEIE and DENYE (§2081) almost all ME instances before 1450 are translation from Latin: SEIE 14/19 (4 of the remainder are Pecock), DENYE 4/4. The texts used by Visser for his collections were biased towards Latin translation, so instances from Chaucer are more impressive. In my collection for verbs of knowing and thinking the proportion found in De Consolatione Philosophiae is a striking 16 out of 23, while with verbs of declaring it is 5 out of 7. So it would appear that the occurrence of this construction was certainly motivated by translation from Latin in the late fourteenth century, although WSerE seems to use the construction much more freely outside actual translation than Chaucer did.

The particular appropriacy of the construction to Latin translation is supported by a comparison of EV and LV. The general fact that LV tends to replace the infinitive clause construction of EV

after these verbs with a finite clause is known from Ortmann (1902 p 56), Carr (1902 p 89), Hollack (1903 pp 63-4), Fristedt (1969 p XXVII) though none gives much detail. In order to investigate this more thoroughly, I went through a Vulgate concordance listing instances where the Latin contained an accusative with infinitive after verbs of declaring, thinking and knowing.* In this collection it could readily be seen that EV almost always rendered a Latin accusative with infinitive by an English infinitive clause, but that LV most commonly replaced it: almost invariably with KNOWE, WITE, more selectively with DEME, GESSE, SEIE. The only verb to appear more commonly with an infinitive clause for Latin accusative with infinitive in LV than in EV was SUPPOSE (with a small number of examples).

Renderings of Vulgate accusative with infinitive in the Wyclifite Bible

	EV	infinitive clause	finite clause	LV	infinitive clause	finite clause
KNOWE		18	2		1	17
WITE		9	1		0	8
BILEVE		2	0		1	1
DEME		12	0		4	6
GESSE		23	0		11	21
SUPPOSE		1	0		4	0
TROWE		3	0		0	1
WENE		6	0		0	2
DENYE		4	0		1	2
SEIE		41	5		6	40
TOTAL		119	8		28	98

(Here instances better taken as NP PRED, as in §2.1.1, have been omitted)

* All instances of AESTIMO, ARBITROR, DICO, CREDO, COGNOSCO, LOQUOR, NOSCO, NEGOTIO, REOR, SCIO, SUSPICOR were checked, and half the instances of COGITO, EXISTIMO, PUTO. The Vulgate was not referred to unless the construction seemed likely to be an accusative with infinitive from the concordance, so the collection will not be complete.

The contrast here may surely be taken to indicate that the reviser(s) of LV felt that the infinitive clause was not fully acceptable in the type of ME represented by LV, except perhaps after certain verbs. The usage of EV on the other hand underlines the importance of Latin-relatedness as a parameter influencing the occurrence of infinitive clauses with such verbs.

6.2.3 The pattern of acceptance and rejection of infinitive clauses in the Later Version.

When the pattern of acceptance and rejection of EV's constructions with the verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring in my collection is examined in more detail, we find support for the notion that infinitive clauses were first found acceptable when NP TO VP did not surface as such. But before discussing this I would like to look at the distribution of infinitive clauses after DEME and GESSE in LV. The replacement of EV's infinitive clause is not random: indeed, it seems that we can predict whether LV will use a finite or infinitive clause by answering two questions:

(a) Is the NP subject of EV's infinitive clause coreferential to the subject of DEME, GESSE?

(b) Is the infinitive of EV's infinitive clause BE?

If the answer to either of these questions is 'yes', then the infinitive clause may remain; if both are answered 'no', a ¹PAT-clause is used. Here too the information is most simply presented as tables:

Clauses after DEME, GESSE in LV which correspond to an infinitive clause in EV

Figures here and below refer to my collection of examples and are not meant to be complete for WBib. Covert NP PRED instances are not included.

	Infinite clause	Finite Clause
Clause verb = BE		
NP = main verb subject	3	0
NP ≠ main verb subject	7	8
Clause verb ≠ BE		
NP = main verb subject	6	8
NP ≠ main verb subject	0	9

Clearly, coreferential NP and BE covary in the distribution of such sentences in the Vulgate (nearly all are Vulgate accusative with infinitive). But equally clearly the construction of LV varies in accordance with our two questions:

LV's retention and rejection of infinitive clause constructions

	Infinitive clause	
	Retained	Rejected
Question (a) or (b): 'yes'	16	16
Question (a) and (b): 'no'	0	9
	16	25
		41

$$\chi^2 = 7.38, df = 1, p < .01$$

The apparent importance of a reflexive NP here does not show up elsewhere in LV's acceptance of EV (and here it is not separately significant statistically, though the figures are more than suggestive).

With other verbs the parameters involved seem to be the presence of BE, and the movement of NP so that the infinitive clause does not surface as connex NP TO VP. The 4 instances with SUPPOSE (two only

with TO BE) do not convincingly show the effect of either of these parameters. With other verbs of thinking LV occasionally rejects infinitive clauses containing BE, and rather more than half of the instances rejected with verbs of knowing contain BE. However, whenever LV retains a construction in which NP is moved from post-verbal position, it retains also the infinitive clause. There are two examples with GESSE: 1 Cor 12.23, 2 Cor 10.2, two with SEIE (see below) and two further cases with BILEVE and KNOWE: on each occasion the clause verb is BE (though with KNOWE the construction of EV is not exactly followed).

- (27) Sap 12.17 EV thou, that art not beleaved to ben in
vertue ful endid; ...
LV thou, that art not bileved to be perfit in vertu, ...
tu, qui non crederis esse in virtute consummatus, ...
- (28) Esth 9.4 EV whom to be prince of the paleis and of
myche power thei knewen; ...
LV whom thei knewen to be prince of the paleis, ...
Quem principem esse palatii ... cognoverant: ...

There are no instances where the infinitive clause construction is rejected, and NP movement is retained, though on occasion both are rejected; with fronting of NP: Judith 6.5 (= Vulgate NP PRED), 8.30, Acts 19.34; with NP later in clause: Gen 47.6, 1 Reg 20.9.

- (29) Acts 19.34 EV Whom as thei knewen for to be a Jew, ...
LV And as thei knewen that he was a Jew, ...
Quem ut cognoverunt Judaeum esse, ...

With SEIE and DENYE the importance of NP movement (less so that of BE) is clear:

LV's retention and rejection of EV's SEIE, DENYE + infinitive clause = Vulgate accusative with infinitive

The first figure is for SEIE, the second for DENYE.

Infinitive clause		
	Retained	Rejected
Clause verb = BE		
NP remains	4,0	21,2
NP removed	2,0	(1),0
Clause verb ≠ BE		
NP remains	0,1	13,1
NP removed	0,0	(1),0

The instances with NP movement are:

- (30) Jeremiah 33.10 EV this place, whom 3ee seyn to be
desert, ...
LV this place, which 3e seien to be forsakun, ...
in loco isto quem vos dicitis esse desertum, ...
- (31) Baruch 6.19 EV serpentis ... ben sayd to licke out
the hertis of hem; ...
LV men seien that serpentis ... lickin out the
hertis of tho; ...
Corda vero eorum dicunt elingere serpentes ...
- (32) Matt 16.13 LV (=EV) Whom seien men to be mannus sone?
Quem dicunt homines esse Filium hominis?
- (33) Sap 7.8 EV and riches I seide no thing to ben in
comparisoun of it, ...
LV and Y seide, that richessis ben nou3t in
comparisoun therof, ...
et divitias nihil esse duxi in comparatione illius: ...

Note that LV does not reproduce NP movement in the two instances where it rejects the infinitive clause, and that the rejection of the 'second passive' in (31) may have been intended to provide a more accurate translation of dicunt. The single instance of retained NP TO VP with DENYE is:

- (34) Sap 12.27 EV seende hym, whom sum tyme thei denyeden
hem to han knowen, ...
LV thei seyng hym, whom thei denyeden sum tyme
hem to knowe, ...
illum, quem olim negabant se nosse, ...

(with SEIE and TO BE: Acts 4.32, Job 32.2, Matt 16.15, Acts 5.36)

In the pattern of LV's acceptance and rejection of EV's infinitive clause construction after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring we can see a general acceptance of instances with movements of NP, a strong preference for instances with BE as subordinate verb with DEME, GESSE and SEIE, and, at least also with DEME and GESSE, a strong preference for instances with NP coreferential to the main clause subject. Otherwise the infinitive clause construction is rejected. There is clear evidence for this general pattern: with individual verbs there is clear rejection with DEME, GESSE, KNOWE, SEIE, WITE; apparent more general acceptance with SUPPOSE; inadequate but strongly suggestive evidence with BILEVE, DENYE, TROWE, WENE.

A collection of instances with WILLE was also made from concordance entries for VOLO. LV's rejection of infinitive-clause constructions is complete. The Vulgate accusative with infinitive is always rendered by EV infinitive clause replaced by LV finite clause (18 straightforward instances). A Vulgate ut-clause is 30 times rendered as finite clause in both EV and LV. There are also 4 instances where EV has infinitive clause with NP movement: LV only retains NP movement in 2 of these, and uses a structure which neutralizes the finite : non-finite distinction (Esth 7.2, I Paralip 22.5). In the other cases a PAT-clause is used: I Paralip 17.19, Esth 10.6.

- (35) Esth 10.6 EV Ester, that the king toc wif, and wolde
to be quen.
LV Hester, ... and wolde that sche were his queen.
Esther est, quam rex accepit uxorem, et voluit esse
reginam.

- (36) I Paralip 22.5 EV the hous forsothe, that I wyll to ben
 bildid to the Lord, ...
 LV the hows, which Y wole be bildid to the Lord, ...
 domus autem, quam aedificari volo Domino, ...

6.2.4 Infinitive clauses in the other two sources.

When we turn to the other collections of examples, those in Visser III.2 and from Chaucer, we find support for the importance of BE as clause verb, and for NP movement, as factors contributing to the occurrence of infinitive clause with verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring. On a count of ME instances before 1450 in Visser III.2 §2079, §2081, which disregarded dubious instances and did not record as NP movement cases where a pronoun merely stood before its verb, I found the following:

	NP MOVEMENT	TO BE	BOTH
Verbs of knowing and thinking	15%	49%	57%
Verbs of declaring	24%	65%	69%

In my collection of examples from Chaucer GESSE is not found with infinitive clause, but other verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring found here are: COMPREHENDEN, DEMEN, YMAGINEN, KNOWEN, REKNEN, SUPPOSEN, UNDERSTONDEN, WENEN, WITEN. If we carefully leave aside all instances which may simply contain a finite clause without ¹PAT, or which may show NP PRED (as in §2.1.1), we are left with 23 instances. Of these as many as 14 show NP movement (7 are 'second passives'), while all but two contain BE. Two typical examples, then the two without BE:

- (37) Cant Tales IV 1065 This is thy doghter, which thou
 hast supposed / To be my wyf; ...
- (38) Astr I.21.36 the zodiak in hevene is ymagyned to ben
 a superfice ...

- (39) Troi V.20 Men wiste nevere womman han the care,
Ne was so loth out of a town to fare.

- (40) Cant Tales VII 2747 his doghter ...
Which that he knew in heigh sentence habounde, ...

(But cf De Cons Phil V prose 4.81, prose 6.161 which have been taken as NP PRED.) The situation with verbs of declaring is similar: of 7 instances here (with ACCORDEN, ASSUREN, AVAUNTEN, GRANTEN, PREVEN, SEYEN, WITNESSEN) only one has surface NP TO VP: the other 6 remove NP (3 of these are 'second passives'), while all 7 contain the infinitive BE. We may note here too (as with the WSerE examples above) that some of these instances are comparatively early to judge from the first citations given by OED, MED, Visser III.2 and Zeitlin (1908): YMAGINEN 1443 (Visser §2079), PREVEN 1449 (§2081), REKNEN 1513 (OED Reckon, v. 5.c), UNDERSTONDEN c1449 (Zeitlin p 90), WITNESSEN 1443 (Visser §2081).

6.3 Discussion and Interpretation

6.3.0 The facts given above have some interesting implications for a historical account of the rise of the infinitive clause construction with verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, and hence for an understanding of the grammar of WSerE. To this topic I will now turn. There seem to be two major lines of approach to the problem of giving such an account, and it is not clear to me to what extent they should be thought of as truly complementary or, rather, partially in conflict. In what follows the two approaches are outlined, and then there is a brief discussion of their relationship to one another.

6.3.1 Infinitive clauses as 'minimal alterations' of grammar.

6.3.1.1 The facts given above imply a historical account in which

English is undergoing a process of adjustment to the model, Latin, by means of minimal syntactic alterations, and in which we see this process of change recapitulated for us in the synchronic situation. We may set out in a table the apparent implicational relationships which obtain in WSerE and WBib for this construction using the following parameters:

- (a) The identity of the governing lexical verb.
- (b) Whether the infinitive is TO BE or some other verb.
- (c) Whether NP of surface NP TO VP is coreferential to the subject of the governing verb.
- (d) Whether the NP subject of the infinitive clause has been moved, leaving surface TO VP.

In this table 'WSE' means that the construction is found in WSerE, 'LV+' 'LV-' that it is accepted or rejected by LV, 'LV±' that it is both accepted and rejected, 'LV₊' that it is nearly always rejected. Information on the occurrence of NP PRED and TO VP (in appropriate senses) is given on the left hand side. The incidence of NP PRED in WBib has not been systematically investigated, and 'LV' simply means here that there are examples. From such data as is available for other verbs such as HOPE, UNDIRSTONDE etc (as discussed above) it looks as if they would fit readily into such a table.

Infinitive clause constructions with verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring in WSerE and WBib

<u>top: NP PRED</u> <u>bottom: TO VP</u>		<u>Infin</u>	<u>NP ... TO VP</u>	<u>NP TO VP</u> <u>EQUI NP</u>	<u>Other</u>
SUPPOSE		BE VP	WSE		LV+ LV+
SEIE	WSE, LV ¹ *	BE VP	WSE, LV+ WSE	LV ₊ LV-	WSE (=Latin), LV ₊ LV-
DEME } GESSE }	WSE, LV WSE, LV	BE VP	LV+	LV+ LV ₊	WSE, LV ₊ LV-
BILEVE	LV LV	BE VP	WSE, LV+	LV-	
KNOWE	WSE, LV *	BE VP	LV ₊ LV-, cf(18)	LV- LV-	LV- LV-
WITE	LV WSE	BE VP	?WSE=(26)	LV-	LV- WSE=(14), LV-

LV also rejects NP TO VP with WENE, TROWE.

¹ NP ... PRED (in passive) is common in LV, and occurs in WSerE; the sequence NP PRED is LV₊.

² Conflated.

* Wrong sense.

This table may clearly be interpreted as showing a series of implicational relationships controlled by the parameters listed above, and since we have found that for many verbs the instances with movement of NP found in WSerE and Chaucer are rather early, this presumably shows the progress of linguistic change. In his studies of the Guyanese Creole continuum, Bickerton (see esp 1973, 1975) likened the process by which the basilect approached the acrolect to the second language learning of an untutored adult who adopts at every stage the minimal alteration necessary to make his more basilectal variety more acrolectal. The result of this process is an implicational continuum of grammars within the community. The situation in WSerE is clearly not fully parallel: but it looks very much as if a series of minimal alterations is being made with the effect of introducing infinitive clause constructions after these verbs in line with the model provided by Latin. At the same time the actual 'target' of these modifications is generally avoided. The notion 'minimal alteration' is by no means transparent, but here I will list the points of contact which apparently result in infinitive clause constructions, and leave the various associated difficulties for discussion below.

(a) Verbs of thinking are typically found at this period with TO VP equivalent to $\hat{P}AT$ S (with appropriate tense). DEME, GESSE + NP TO VP where NP is reflexive to their subject is a minimal alteration of this. But we would not expect a favouring of reflexives with KNOWE or SEIE, and do not find it.

(b) SEIE and verbs of thinking and knowing are generally found with NP PRED. Hence, by minimal alteration, the high incidence of TO BE.

(c) In NP PRED structures, PRED may be an infinitive with future reference, particularly TO COME. Hence the high incidence of TO COME when NP PRED is minimally restructured to NP TO VP.

(d) In relative, question and topicalized structures, NP may be moved from subject position in a finite clause. But the verb will not always be morphologically distinctive as finite, while the bare infinitive may occur in such positions. The verb may be reinterpreted as nonfinite, and TO inserted as a minimal alteration.

(e) It is not straightforwardly easy to interpret the 'second passive' as a 'minimal alteration' of English, and perhaps it should be interpreted as more directly dependent on Latin. But its adoption may depend on an awareness of the 'split subject' construction in English with SEME, and show the equivalence of IT ... PAT S and NP ... TO VP.

(f) A real object NP may be followed by infinitives of various kinds, and it may seem that the examples given above with CONFESSE (6), JUGE (11), YMAGINEN (38), and perhaps other examples with REKNEN, SUPPOSE may show reinterpretation of such structures. There may, however, be another reason for the occurrence of instances open to such an interpretation: cf §6.3.2 and the reference there to Bolinger (1977).

Bock's (1931) view was that the adoption of the infinitive clause construction with these verbs depended on Latin influence and the native NP PRED construction. He implies that the extension took place largely (?solely) through the development NP PRED > NP TO BE PRED (p 243): at all events he mentions no other possibilities. It is clear from the evidence above, however, that this is only one

factor in the extension of the construction, and not necessarily the most important initially. The significance of TO VP = PRED as a model is plain from WSerE, and since NP ... TO VP is found with verbs which did not occur with NP PRED it is clear that the analogies of (d) and (e) had some separate part to play, although (of course) NP ... PRED may also have provided a point of departure with other verbs. Furthermore, the distribution of coreferential NP with DEME and GESSE argues that (a) was also involved. So it seems that actually a much more broadly based extension of grammar is involved than that envisaged by Bock, and (a)-(f) are probably all involved.

6.3.1.2 Latin was the external model.

The very fact of this more complex process must immediately imply that Latin was the external model. Languages may indeed have internally motivated structural targets (see, eg, Haiman 1974). But it is difficult to see how one could justify a focusing of such various means to a common end when that end itself (surface NP TO VP) is generally avoided, without appeal to an external target. At this date French probably does not show a sufficiently developed parallel construction, since the 'accusative and infinitive' after verbs of thinking, knowing and declaring is frequent before 1400 only in prose translated from Latin and is generally avoided in original prose (Stimming 1915 chapters VIII and IX). Moreover the range of texts which most show such constructions in English in the late fourteenth century as well as the existence of techniques of translation which produce English texts, hence presumably registers, showing varying degrees of approximation to Latin all imply that the external model was Latin. We may therefore see the development of

this construction in the late fourteenth century as due to a broadly based modelling of English structure on Latin, by a process of minimal adjustment which resulted in a kind of 'implicational scale' (though perhaps much more loosely structured and organized than Bickerton's) running from English towards Latin, and showing greater structural approximation in texts more closely modelled on Latin.

There are two immediate historical points that we can draw from this account. One is that we must agree with Bock's (1931) view that the Germanic construction of infinitive clause with verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring had essentially died out in eOE, being preserved in verse as an archaism, and occurring in OE prose only when rather literally dependent on Latin. On this view the demise of OE prose meant the loss of the construction, which reappeared only under Latin influence (though Bock suggests that the construction may have appeared with WITE, KNOWE by analogy with verbs of perception). The alternative view, maintained by Zeitlin (1908) and apparently quoted with approval by Jespersen (MEG, part 5 §18.1₁) is that the construction continued throughout eME and was merely much developed under Latin influence. But it is noteworthy that even with KNOWE and WITE, LV rejects the straightforward construction. The implication is that uses of NP TO VP with such verbs before 1400 should be regarded as due to interference from Latin (or even French, but note the rather special usage with WITE in (14)). The same must also be true of WILLE. For examples with these (and other) verbs which ante-date 1400 see Visser (III.2 §§2076, 2079, 2081), Zeitlin (1908 p 62-3, p 83 et seq, p 100 et seq). Thus Zeitlin's view seems most implausible.

The second point is that here, in such facts as the probable greater frequency of subordinate clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring than after verbs of wishing in the appropriate registers, as for example in WSerE, the lack of NP PRED with WILLE, and the lack of a Latin second passive of VOLO, we may have an answer to what might otherwise seem a puzzling question, namely: why infinitive clauses (with their apparent implication that they denote some potentially real, nonpropositional entity) should spread first to verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, and only subsequently to verbs of wishing. At first sight, at least, the reverse order would seem more plausible.

6.3.1.3 'Minimal alteration' must be an abstract notion.

The notion of 'minimal alteration' presented above dealt with surface constructions after particular lexical items, with the exception of the 'second passive', which implies that a more abstract approach is required. So also does the fact that with neither DEME nor GESSE is TO VP found in the appropriate sense until the date when NP TO VP is also found (to judge from OED, MED, Visser). The 'minimal alteration' seems unlikely then to be simply DEME TO VP > DEME-EQUI NP -TO VP. We must apparently interpret this change as part of the general fourteenth century tendency for verbs of thinking and knowing to appear with TO VP (= \hat{P} AT-clause). One or two verbs had previously occurred here, but the general development is fourteenth century: (dates from OED)

WENE c1200, WITE 1297
 SUPPOSE 1303, TROWE 1350
 BILEVE, DEME, GESSE, \hat{P} ENKE c1400

For most verbs the construction does not seem to survive much beyond 1600. Perhaps, then, we can interpret the behaviour of DEME and GESSE as part of this wider change. DEME and GESSE however differ in that when extended to a nonfinite clause with identical subject they approximate Latin structure by permitting the identical subject to appear.

There are other respects too in which a relatively abstract notion of 'minimal alteration' may seem to be required. TO COME (etc) and TO BE predominate in NP ... TO VP even with verbs which do not occur with NP PRED; SEIE also prefers TO BE with NP TO VP, but the development of NP PRED seems to be contemporary; and, above all, the occurrence of the 'second passive' (and perhaps of NP ... TO VP more generally) with verbs which lack NP PRED (HOPE, UNKNOWN; DOUTE, TECHE) must show that speakers of the language were aware of the equation (IT) ... $\hat{\text{PAT S}} = \text{NP ... TO VP}$.

6.3.1.4 We thus arrive at a characterization of infinitive clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring which runs as follows. English is here being modelled on Latin. Since for most verbs surface NP TO VP is straightforwardly unacceptable the adoption of such a target has led to its being approached obliquely, by minimal alteration of a varied and not purely surface kind to previously existing grammars. It seems that these resulting structures occur more frequently in texts closer to Latin, so that we might perhaps envisage the situation in terms of the kind of implicational scale proposed by Bickerton, controlled here by degree of structural alteration and closeness to Latin.

6.3.2 The implications of the parallel with PE.

6.3.2.0 The second approach to providing an account of the facts discussed in the first part of this chapter arises from the existence of a very substantial parallel in PE. This makes it look as if the Wyclifite English situation is 'natural' in some far-reaching way, and as if an analysis merely in terms of 'minimal alterations' to structure will not be adequate. Explicating this would be a major topic in itself, and all I shall do here is make a very tentative suggestion about the identity of one of the factors involved, which may be seen as controlling the direction in which the 'minimal alterations' of Wyclifite English occur.

6.3.2.1 Before discussing the PE parallel it is worth pointing to the existence of two partial similarities in other languages. Post-mediaeval French favoured the infinitive clause construction with verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring when its subject was removed by the formation of a relative clause, and this is the only type which survives (rather marginally) today. (Cf esp Stimming 1915 p 175 et seq, and cf the data of his chapter VIII.) Japanese, too, is similar in that it has RAISING with many verbs of this class, but permits only a subordinate predicate adjective or BE plus nominal. This constraint however does not apply to the 'second passive', which is more freely available (Kuno 1976). However, the most interesting series of parallels to the ME data is that found in PE. Consider instances like these (and with verbs such as KNOW, BELIEVE, SUPPOSE etc):

Pauline thought the man down the road ...
 The man down the road who Pauline thought ...
 The man down the road who we all thought ...
 The man down the road was thought ...
 ... to be an out and out bastard.
 ... to be a Greek or an Italian.
 ... to practise divination.
 ... to beat his wife.
 ... to have kissed Molly in the street last Tuesday.

We find for PE constraints on the occurrence of infinitive clauses which involve degree of formality, the subordinate verb phrase (BE or 'durativ aktionsart' preferred), and the position of the derived object (as well as the 'generality' of the main verb subject). There is a striking overlap between these constraints and those suggested above for WSerE: a similar, but much fuller 'implicational table' may be constructed for PE:

	NP PRED		NP ... TO VP		NP TO VP	
			Second Passive	Other		
BELIEVE, CONSIDER	+	BE	+	+	+	+
		V	+	+	+	+
SUPPOSE	+	BE	+	+	+	+
		V	+	+	+	-
KNOW	+	BE	+	+	+	+
		V	+	?	?	-
THINK	+	BE	+	+	+	?
		V	+	-	-	-
SAY	-	BE	+	?	?	-
		V	+	-	-	-

This table represents my judgements of rather formal style for particular sentences. There is substantial variation between individuals (and within the individual on different occasions): I do not wish to

make any claim about the particular judgements indicated in the table. The claim I would like to make is one about the general shape of the table, and the operation of constraints involving lexical verb, NP movement and BE (as well as formality) in a way that directly parallels WSerE and WBib.

The existence of these constraints in PE could well be interpreted as the result of linguistic change: such a hypothesis would be in accordance with C-J Bailey's 'wave theory' (1973) according to which changes should radiate across grammatical 'space' (from construction to construction and lexeme to lexeme), and across the stylistic spectrum, so that a synchronic 'slice' of the language will show the pattern of diffusion. Here, perhaps, we have evidence of the radiation of these changes caught in process in LME and found (?frozen) at a later stage of development in PE. It certainly seems that the parameters involving BE and NP movement have been effective throughout the history of English: on my observing the first recorded example for each relevant verb in Visser III.2 (omitting instances from EV as irrelevant) the following result was obtained:

	NP moved	NP TO BE	NP TO VP	TOTAL
Verbs of wishing etc) §2076)	2	7	10	19
Verbs of desiring etc) §2077)				
Verbs of mental perception etc §2079	13	27	17	57
Verbs of saying and declaring §2081	20	72	16	108

The contrast between verb types is sharp, and it is clear that moved NP or TO BE have generally been preferred, at least early in a verb's

history. Thus it seems that we may surmise that much the same constraints have obtained for the last half millennium (a surmise again supported by Visser's data), and that the contraction in usage found today compared with some earlier periods is due to varying requirements for a more distanced formal or learned register, and to the loss of Latin as a model.

6.3.2.2 This is an attractive account, but it needs itself to be explained. Why should constraints whose origin seems to lie in apparent accidents of LME syntax have survived for so long a period? And why should similar constraints be found in other languages? The parameter concerned with the formality or learnedness of register, or closeness to Latin, may be due to Latin models in Western Europe. But the preference for TO BE and for movement of NP is not so easily explained.

There has been one attempt to account for some of these facts in Postal's (1974) discussion of what he calls the 'Derived Object Constraint'. This imposes various constraints on the NP of surface NP TO VP with the groups of verbs here being considered. "In some cases, an extreme form of DOC may function, blocking all sentences that contain a raised NP as derived object. In others, a weaker form is manifest in which the raised NPs can be derived objects if they are empty pronouns or meet other special conditions ..." (p 308). But, as can be seen from the table above, there is more to it than this. Postal's constraint only copes with part of the pattern (and he himself remarks on the distinction between different types of movement (pp 309-310)). Moreover he offers this suggestion as an unexplicated fact about English. While it is clear that more detailed syntactic

work on different languages is required, I would like tentatively to suggest that at any rate one of the factors involved in controlling the conditions on this construction may lie in the semantic contribution made by the direct object, not necessarily as a fully integrated part of a grammatical system, but perhaps rather as a long term psycholinguistic pressure making for enhanced acceptability. (Note that this suggestion might perhaps provide part of an alternative and more explanatory account of the observations of Macháček 1965, 1969 about the 'involvement' of the matrix subject in infinitive clause constructions.)

Bolinger (1977) has suggested that there may be an independent contribution made by the sequence VERB NP as an 'apparent constituent' within VERB NP TO VP in that when the string VERB NP "taken as a constituent in its own right has a meaning compatible with that of the sentence as a whole and more or less suggesting it, this becomes a factor in improving the degree of acceptability ..." (p 126), and he refers to examples like these where (a) seems more readily available and acceptable than (b). There is also it seems to me a perhaps

(41a) I acknowledge the problem to be serious.

(41b) ?I acknowledge the problem to be trivial.

more subtle discrimination to be made, whereby with certain verbs NP TO VP seems more readily available and acceptable where there is some kind of warrant for the content of the subordinate clause in the matrix subject's fairly direct experience, particularly when VERB NP is compatible with that experience. There is such a difference in (42) and (43) where the (a) sentence has the wider availability or acceptability.

- (42a) From personal experience we knew John to enjoy singing in the bath.
- (42b) ?From the neighbours' remarks we knew John to enjoy singing in the bath.
- (43a) From a scrutiny of the clouds we know the weather to be about to turn.
- (43b) ?From the shepherd's remarks we know the weather to be about to turn.

This is not always an easy judgement, and it is difficult to separate out one strand from a doubtless complex situation, but it seems to me that this kind of difference holds for KNOW, BELIEVE, THINK, IMAGINE, SUPPOSE, SURMISE and perhaps other verbs so that when the verbal or real world context carries an implication of warrant in experience for the subordinate clause content and when this is compatible with or suggested by VERB NP, as in (42a), (43a) we may be said to know John or the weather in some sense, then NP TO VP is more acceptable. If this is correct then there are (at least) two kinds of semantic effect that the surface direct object may have which result in the enhanced acceptability of a particular range of instances.

Such effects do not seem to hold, however, for the 'second passive', which typically has an indefinite agent and may in any case sometimes represent a rather different construction (cf esp Bresnan 1972). They do not seem, either, to be as clear when NP is moved, if they hold at all in such cases. Perhaps we may say that NP is in such cases 'less' of a surface direct object. This idea would have a ready psycholinguistic interpretation if hearers go from surface structure to meaning without retrieving all intermediate relationships,

as suggested, inter alia by Bever (1970). Thus, in terms of the kind of processing model suggested by Kimball (1973), Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976 p 186 et seq), it is easy to see why with a verb like KNOW the subject of an infinitive clause should differ in status when the subject of a second passive, when fronted by some other transformation, and when surface object of KNOW. It seems reasonable, then, to suggest that the differences in acceptability noted above may depend on the contribution of the sequence VERB NP, and may be weakened or nonexistent when that NP does not directly follow the verb as a potential surface object.

It may be that here there is part of the explanation for another fact about NP TO VP with verbs of knowing and thinking in PE. The most favoured subordinate verb phrases are statives, or verb phrases somehow essentially or nontrivially connected with NP and which reflect noncontingent facts. Thus, for example:

- (44) I know John to be a charmer.
- (45) ?I know John to be in the garden.
- (46) John, who I know to be in the garden.
- (47) I know John to have killed his grandmother.
- (48) ?I know John to have opened the garden gate.

Perhaps the point is that John in such sentences is 'taken seriously' as an object at some level of interpretation. Two sorts of predicate will thereby tend to be favoured: those which involve a categorizing of NP, and those which depend upon knowledge or experience of the referent of NP itself as such. The first type is clearly seen in verbs like CERTIFY, DECLARE, DECREE, TAKE, while with verbs of thinking and knowing both aspects of the semantic contribution of VERB NP

often seem to be involved. But in either case stative or noncontingent predicates will be favoured.

This discussion has necessarily been brief, and it can lead only to a tentative and preliminary proposal which further research may show inadequate. But I hope that at this point it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that a factor involved in maintaining the long term constraints which favour TO BE and movement of NP in the NP TO VP construction with verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring is pressure to interpret the sequence VERB NP as verb plus object. This pressure need not itself be seen as part of the synchronic syntax or semantics of English narrowly considered: the point is rather that such pressure will be instrumental in promoting grammars whose internal structuring is in accord with it. Hence English will favour such clauses in instances where NP has been moved, or, when it is not moved, where TO VP contains a stative or noncontingent predicate which might be said to reflect a categorizing of the NP or to depend on experience of the referent of NP as such. If this is correct, then here we have one reason for the probable maintenance of broadly the same paradigm in nonfinite clauses with verbs of thinking, knowing and declaring in English over a long period.

Armed with these notions let us return to WSerE and the English of WBib. Here it would seem reasonable to suppose that the same general tendency to interpret a surface object may hold as in PE. So perhaps the initial conditions on NP TO VP depend partly on this. This may seem implausible since it was argued above that the NP in such constructions is connex with TO VP and does not simply behave as the direct object of the matrix clause (§2.1.3). But here we are

probably concerned rather with the sequence VERB NP and its interpretation, than with particular structures. Moreover, the actual structures assigned depend on theoretical approach and within a Chomskyan framework need not differ between PE and WSerE (cf §2.1.3). So the grammatical differences here between WSerE and PE are probably irrelevant to this issue, and we may interpret the favouring of NP ... TO VP and of NP TO BE PRED as under the control of the same pressure which has helped to shape English also at later periods.

There is also one more particular respect in which the English of WSer and WBib may parallel PE (and Japanese, cf §6.3.2.1) in that the 'second passive' may result in more acceptable sentences than other types of movement. There is a little evidence for this with SEIE. In the 'second passive' the infinitives selected in WSerE seem quite free. I know 8 examples: BE is found once. The other seven verbs are: COME, FI3TE, HATE, HAVE (twice), LOVE, TURNE A3EN. But WSerE lacks other NP ... TO VP (though movement from a finite clause is found). Here LV, which lacks second passives, accepts BE (but does not reject other verbs: there are no examples). WSerE and LV both have NP TO VP with BE only, and LV rejects other verbs. Thus there may well have been a distinction between types of movement here, though there is no sign of it with other verbs. Such a distinction, if it did exist, would strongly imply the need for some further explanation beyond the 'minimal alteration' of the previous section, whether or not it can be accounted for as a result of the pressure to interpret VERB NP as an 'apparent constituent'.

Finally, there is one less obvious but important respect in which the English of WSerE and WBib may show the importance of the

sequence VERB NP. If we imagine the effects of transplanting an opposition between finite and nonfinite clauses to verbs of declaring and mental perception, where the opposition typically characterizes the distinction between (potential) real world reference and propositional reference, it seems that one way in which the opposition might continue to characterize nonfinite clauses as having a distinctive element of real world reference would be indeed for them to convey some implication of categorizing or of experience. Thus there is a natural line of historical development from the extension of the opposition between clause types to the kind of interpretation of surface direct objects which results. One might even suggest that the broad long term stability of reduced possibilities for NP TO VP after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring depends on this subsidiary contrast whereby the basic finite : nonfinite opposition is reutilized to distinguish the least 'propositional' complement clauses after such verbs, but tends to resist further extension (unless there are overriding sociolinguistic considerations).

Within such a framework the apparent preference for NP reflexive to the subject of DEME and GESSE is quite natural. They are the NPs of which the subject's experience cannot be denied. Possibly this kind of distribution should only be expected as the result of an extending convention of the interpretation of a surface direct object: I do not know of a similar restriction later in English (though the general loss of the syntactic model TO VP = ¹PAT S with verbs of knowing and thinking in the sixteenth century may be partly responsible for this).

6.3.2.3 It seems that we might suggest an alternative account of the extension of infinitive clauses which runs like this. When English

adopts the Latin model infinitive clause after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring this is done under two specific pressures. One is a pressure to ascribe a semantic value to the opposition between finite and nonfinite clause which would accord with the value the opposition had elsewhere in the language. The other is a general pressure to interpret VERB NP as an 'apparent constituent'. As a result of these pressures surface NP TO VP is avoided, or is interpreted so that the surface object focuses the finite : nonfinite opposition, either because it is categorized, or because it is experienced. These two pressures are a continuing feature of English, and they ensure that the pattern of distribution remains broadly stable over a long period. If this is correct it may be that the development of NP TO VP with such semantic implications took over some of the functions previously discharged by CLAN-sentences (see §5.1.6) which were particularly frequent with verbs of knowing and thinking, and hence facilitated their loss.

6.3.3 Conclusion.

One account of a change seems adequate; two, embarras de richesse. But the above two accounts seem mainly complementary: at one level there are the putative longer term semantic and psycholinguistic pressures which exert more general control. Below them there are the specific syntactic mechanisms through which the initial change took place. We need the accounts of both levels. There is, moreover, an important contribution made by this double account. Bickerton (1975) discusses change, as does Bailey (1973), in terms of minimal alterations made along a grammatical continuum, but they fail to tell us

anything about the structuring of that continuum. It seems to be an essentially ad hoc matter. Here, however, we have an account of an ongoing change in which we have (a) an indication of the cause of the change in the status of Latin, (b) a knowledge of the target, (c) some account of the pressures which shape the grammatical continuum and (d) an account of the 'minimal alterations' initially involved. We have thus a relatively complete if tentative account of the change, and one in which the structuring of the grammatical space traversed by the change is not devised ad hoc but is apparently 'natural' in some way, whether or not the account given of it above proves ultimately to be adequate.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I hope firstly to have shown that systematic differences between the Early Version and the Later Version of the Wyclifite Bible can be an important tool in the investigation of LME when properly interpreted since the pattern of the LV's acceptance and rejection of the usage of EV tells us something about the acceptability of particular constructions. In evidence derived from WBib and WSerE we see an extension of infinitive clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring apparently under the influence of a Latin model, to judge from its obliqueness and from the occurrence of such clauses in Chaucer and elsewhere in LME. The essential process involves making 'minimal alterations' to the syntactic structure of English to approach this model, and the occurrence of NP TO VP as such is avoided except with some particular verbs. Thus we might hypothesise the existence of a series of implicational relationships

between syntactic structures controlled by a parameter of closeness to Latin, as Bickerton's implicational tables are controlled by closeness to acrolect. The change is not simply based on the insertion of TO BE into NP PRED but involves simultaneous alterations in a range of constructions and must apparently be interpreted as occurring at a reasonably abstract level. The change moreover involves a preference for nonfinite clauses of two particular types: those which contain TO BE and those whose subject NP has been moved by transformation. This is true not only of the pattern of LV's acceptance and rejection of EV, but also of Chaucer's usage, as of PE usage, the usage of intervening periods (in so far as it can be readily checked by examining the examples in Visser III.2) and to varying extents also the usage of such other languages as French and Japanese. It is clear that a more general explanation is required, and that the process of 'minimal alteration' should be regarded as a mechanism under some more general control. I would very tentatively suggest that we may see this extension as (at least partly) controlled by two pressures. The first is that the opposition between finite and nonfinite clauses should be maintained, so that those complements which can be thought of as having some less purely 'propositional' implication will be those initially affected. The second, which is extrapolated from PE, is that the surface sequence VERB NP may be an 'apparent constituent' and will be somehow semantically appropriate in typical instances of the construction. These two pressures result in the tendency to avoid surface NP TO VP, and in the tendency to favour predicates which represent a categorizing of NP or some noncontingent fact about the referent of NP. Such predicates allow the sequence VERB NP to be taken

to some extent as an 'apparent constituent' in which NP is categorized or experienced. Perhaps too there is a favouring of reflexive NPs after DEME and GESSE in LV, and this might also reflect a preference for VERB NP sequences which may carry an implication that the verb's subject has some experience of NP. These pressures, if correctly interpreted, may be generally responsible if only in part for maintaining the structure of the change as shown in WSerE and WBib into PE, and may help to clarify the structuring of the 'grammatical space' across which the change took place.

This rather tentative theory may prove inadequate. The fact remains however that the parameters which control variation in PE (individual matrix verb, degree of formality, movement of NP and presence of infinitive BE) are, with the substitution of closeness to Latinity for degree of formality, precisely those which obtain for WBib, and this clearly implies that the Wyclifite change by minimal alteration is under some further control.

Finally, three brief points to conclude. Firstly, this parallel from PE and similar parallels from other languages support the interpretation of WSerE and WBib given here. Secondly, the implication of this account is that instances of NP ... TO VP may be regarded rather as neutralizing the finite : nonfinite semantic distinction than as related to PAT-clauses syntactically except possibly with SEIE (cf §2.3). And lastly, we may speculate that the later history of infinitive clauses involved a natural extension of the 'real world' clause type into verbs of volition which had been 'overtaken' by the extension into verbs of thinking, knowing and declaring.

7.0 Introduction

7.0.1 In certain contexts which contain two negatives in the sermons a subordinate ¹PAT-clause is headed by ¹PAT NE. Two typical examples are:

- (1) i.314.3 And so it is not bileve þat ne þis pope
synnede myche.
'And so it is not a matter of faith that this pope
did not sin greatly.'
- (2) i.346.3 And so we mai not denye þat ne Crist and his
eldris weren pore folk, ...
'And so we cannot deny that Christ and his parents
were poor people, ...'

This construction is remarkable for two reasons. In the first place, sentential negation in the sermons is normally marked by NOT after the finite verb. NE as sentential negation is unusual, especially when unsupported by any other negative word (but cf (3)). Secondly, the position of NE is remarkable. With the exception of a few cases where the subject of the ¹PAT-clause is a pronoun, NE comes immediately after ¹PAT and before the subject NP. This is curious since the NE of ¹PAT NE is rather NE 'not' than NE 'nor', as will become clear from the following discussion, especially §7.2.5.4 below.

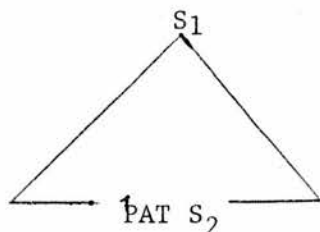
- (3) i.156.33 ¹Pei ne shal ceese anoon to lerne more sutilly, ...

Since the construction is of peculiar interest, both in itself and because of the possibility of a relationship with Latin QUIN, I have used a larger corpus here than elsewhere in order to get more data. All the examples of ¹PAT NE-clauses found in the two volumes of sermons edited by Arnold have been considered (including Vae Octuplex

and Of Mynystris in þe Chirche). Data is certainly complete for the sermon corpus, and is pretty surely complete for the rest of the two volumes. Examples from other Wyclifite texts have been used as supporting evidence where known, but no systematic search for them has been made, and all remarks in what follows are based solely on the sermons unless other data is clearly indicated.

7.0.2 Conclusions in brief.

The construction may be briefly described as follows. In a structure:



with no intervening S node, where 2 'negatives' occur in S_1 , or one 'negative' occurs in S_1 , and one in S_2 , S_2 is headed by $\dot{P}AT\ NE$, as in (1) and (2) above. When S_2 is a complement clause the construction is very regular, and its limits are rather sharply defined. With adverbial and adjectival clauses there is some overlap with the constructions $\dot{P}AT\ NE$ opposes (the most important is $BUT\ 3IF$), but $\dot{P}AT\ NE$ is found especially in a very narrowly specified range of constructions (particularly after BE in S_1). Though I refer to the construction throughout as ' $\dot{P}AT\ NE$ -clause', there is beside the more frequent $\dot{P}AT\ NE\ PRONOUN$ the variant $\dot{P}AT\ PRONOUN\ NE$ with NE before the finite verb: these forms are apparently in free variation. It is possible that instead of a description in terms of syntactic configuration (like that just given) the notion essentially involved is that a negative particle

which occurs within an 'affirmative-polarity context' \bar{P} AT-clause must appear as NE after \bar{P} AT. (See §7.2.3 below for this notion, and for discussion of this point.) But whichever description is better, the construction is closely paralleled by uses of QUIN in Wyclif's Latin and BUT in LME, and it is closely related to negative constructions found elsewhere in ME, in particular to constructions with 'pleonastic' negation and relative clauses in contexts of double negation. The best interpretation of its history seems to be that BUT and \bar{P} AT NE occur in contexts of double negation in response to systemic pressure caused by the loss of NE, with QUIN probably responsible for the form of \bar{P} AT NE, though \bar{P} AT NE is used independently of QUIN in those texts in which it appears. It has proved possible to provide a reasonable synchronic account of the grammar of \bar{P} AT NE which is both simple and natural, and which fits well into our general understanding of the historical grammar of negation in ME; this account has been provided both in general terms and as a sketch of a transformational grammar.

7.0.3 Frequency.

There are 16 instances of the construction in the sermon corpus, and 72 in Arnold's two volumes. \bar{P} AT NE occurs throughout, and seems to be fully productive. There is, however, an oddity of distribution. If we disregard examples which render the Vulgate as being possibly influenced by it, \bar{P} AT NE is evenly distributed throughout the text, except that it occurs with half the normal frequency in the Sunday Gospel Sermons, and twice the normal frequency in the Proprium Sanctorum Sermons. I have no explanation for this fact, and will not discuss it further.

7.0.4 Order of discussion.

First I describe the data in a reasonably neutral manner, noting exceptions and briefly discussing the situation in other MSS than Bod 788 (§7.1). Then, in what is the first part of §7.2 (§7.2.1-3) I try to expand the discussion by considering some constructions which provide alternatives to the use of *ȝAT NE*, and by comparing some aspects of PE grammar. This leads to an attempt to formulate an account of the grammar of *ȝAT NE*. In the second part of §7.2 (§7.2.4-8) I outline what I know of the incidence of *ȝAT NE* elsewhere in ME, and compare related constructions in an attempt to place *ȝAT NE*-clauses against a background of ME varieties. §7.2 concludes with sections on the influence of QUIN, the historical development of *ȝAT NE*, and a transformational formulation of its grammar.

7.1 Description of Data

7.1.1 General.

ȝAT NE-clauses fall into two groups, one with NE expressing a 'real' negation, the other with NE as 'pleonastic' negation. The terms 'real' and 'pleonastic' are used with reference to the straightforward PE translations of the sentences involved (though one might reasonably suppose that they reveal an aspect of the sentences' semantic structure). In all the instances found, NE is the only expression of negation within the subordinate clause. In the first group, with 'real' NE, the main clause contains 'sentential negation', and the subordinate *ȝAT NE*-clause is a noun phrase complement clause, a 'consecutive' clause, or a clause which follows a negated noun phrase and is best rendered

in PE by a relative clause. One example of each subordinate clause type follows.

- (4) ii.212.17 ... and it semeþ not bi þer lyf, þat ne
þei assenten to þes grete synnes.
'It does not seem from their lives that they do
not assent to these great sins.'
- (5) i.329.17 And God is not so oblischid to sensible
sacramentis þat ne he mai, wiþouten hem, 3yve a
man his grace.
- (6) i.273.9 No man is here in erþe þat ne God 3eveþ him
sum liȝt: ...

In the second group, with 'pleonastic' NE, the main clause contains 'sentential negation' and some other negative word. This may be a second 'sentential negation', or it may be a 'negative meaning word' like DENYE, DISPROVE, LETTE, MYSHOPE 'despair': this is always the verb, or a noun within a phrasal verb such as HAN DOUTE. Here only noun phrase complement clauses are found.

- (7) i.389.1 What man wolde not suppose, þat ne al þis
þing was done bi fraude of þis fals womman, for
treuþe of Joon displeside hir?
'What man would not suppose that all of this was
brought about by this false woman's trickery,
because John's truthfulness displeased her?'
- (8) i.132.6 We denyen not þat ne Crist bifore þis apperide
to his modir, ...
'We do not deny that Christ appeared to his mother
before this.'

As is clear from (7) rhetorical questions which 'expect' a negative answer have been treated as instances of 'sentential negation'. For this notion of 'sentential negation' I refer to Klima (1964 esp p 270), who said (to adopt the paraphrase of Stockwell et al 1973 p 232): "that a wide variety of sentences containing superficially quite distinct 'negative' words such as not, none, never can all be analysed as containing a constituent NEG with a single underlying deep

structure position in the sentence." Thus interrelationships such as the following are easily accounted for:

Miss Jean Brodie wasn't mocked by anybody.

Miss Jean Brodie was mocked by nobody.

Nobody mocked Miss Jean Brodie.

A similar analysis will presumably be possible for WSerE, so I have treated together instances of not, nevere with the finite verb, and surface constituent negation such as no man, no desire, nou3t, no3ing where corresponding PE sentences have Klima's 'sentential negation'. Fewe is also included here. All the examples involved are sentential subject, and PE few as subject satisfies Klima's tests for 'weak sentential negation' in PE, sometimes also the additional test for 'strong sentential negation' (cf Klima 1964 p 270 §19 for the tests, and p 273 §23 where few is treated as an instance of 'sentential negation'). The examples are all fewe (NP) or noon except for one instance of to fewe (ii.82.27). Despite the fact that 'rhetorical question negation' does not pass Klima's tests, it is plainly reasonable on grounds of meaning to treat this also as showing 'sentential negation', cf OED Who, pron. 2 'In a rhetorical question, suggesting or implying an emphatic contrary assertion. eg Who would ...? = No one would ...; Who would not ...? = Anyone would ...', the (traditional) treatment of Einkenkel (1912), and (9).

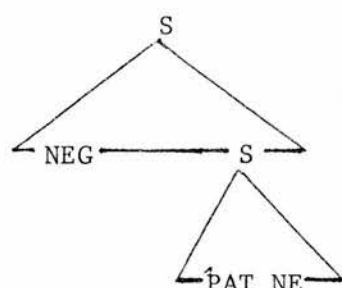
- (9) i.174.2 Breperen, what man is he þat overcomeþ þe
world? Certis noon, but if he trowe þat Jesus is
Goddis Sone.

Although all the examples of the first group, with 'real' NE, contain 'sentential negation' in the main clause, there are no examples in the sermon corpus of sentences with an unnegated 'negative meaning

word' in the main clause, and 'real' negation in the subordinate clause, as in PE Paula denied that she hadn't visited her mother in hospital. Consequently it remains an open question whether such sentences would contain $\dot{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ or not.

MOOD: The mood of the verb in $\dot{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ -clauses is indicative in all unambiguous cases bar one. The single occurrence of a subjunctive (in ii.237.3) occurs where the whole construction is in a hypothetical context, so we may say that the unmarked mood of $\dot{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ -clauses is indicative. The figures involved are: indicative 19, subjunctive 1, ambiguous 52.

7.1.2 $\dot{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ with NE expressing real negation.



There are 34 examples here, which fall into three types as follows:

Type (a)	Noun clause	10 examples.	1 has 'rhetorical question negation'.
Type (b)	Consecutive clause	6 examples.	1 has 'rhetorical question negation'.
Type (c)	Clause after negated NP	18 examples.	3 have 'rhetorical question negation'.

In all these examples, a straightforward intuitive assignment of bracketing shows the $\dot{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ -clause to be within the higher negative sentence (hence, 'commanded' by the NEG of the higher S, or within its 'scope'. cf Langacker 1969 p 167 for the notion 'command'). Among

the consecutive clauses, parallels to (i), but not (ii) are found
(cf the discussion of (19) and (20) below).

- (i) He was not [so charming that we didn't laugh at him]
(ie, we did laugh)
- (ii) [He was not fat,] [so we didn't laugh at him]
(ie, we did not laugh)

7.1.2.1 Type (a): Complement clauses with real negation.

Examples are object clauses after SUFFRE (4), TROWE (2), HAVE CONSCIENCE, the extraposed subjects of BE BILEVE, SEME, and a clause in apposition to PIS, the object of MUSE.

- (10) i.279.2 God suffriþ þe fend to have power to haste
a man to his deþ, but gode God wole nevere suffre
þat ne man mai freli þenke on him; ...
- (11) i.112.15 And here men marken how þat Crist was pacient
in two temptyngis bifore, but in þe þridde he my3te
not suffre þat ne he spake sharpely to þe fend.
- (12) i.187.5 And þis fal of the fend sai Crist bi his
Godhede; and al þis was of pride, þat God my3te
not suffre more, þat ne þe angel in hevene was
dryvun þus in to helle.
'... and pride caused all this, namely that (?so that)
God could no longer endure that the angel in heaven
was not driven into hell in this way.'
- (13) ii.48.24 And trowe we not þat ne at þis dome men shal
be dampned for oþer synnes, for al þe synne þat
dampned men han doon shal be cause of þer
dampnacioun.
- (14) i.357.26 And men shulden not muse on þis, þat ne
þer ben diverse meritis.
'Men should not meditate on this, that there are
not diverse merits' (sc. because there are)
- (15) ii.282.23 who shulde have conscience here þat ne
þis synne is clensid al out?

and i.314.3, ii.212.17 (= (4) above), ii.237.3, ii.356.11.

(= (1) above)

Any other way of taking the PAT NE-clause in (12) (eg 'all this came of pride which God could no longer endure, so that the angel in

heaven was driven into hell') would produce an exception to general statements about ĤAT NE.

7.1.2.2 Type (b): Consecutive clauses with real negation.

Note that the presence of so, such etc as antecedents are not required in ME (OED That, conj. 4.b).

- (16) ii.100.1 Ĥe pridde deed bodie, Ĥat is dolven, ben pei Ĥat ben custumed to synne wipouten, but pei ben not hardid, Ĥat ne pei mai be loosid bi grace; ...
'The third dead body, which is buried, signifies those who are in the habit of sinning outwardly, but they are not hardened (to it) in such a way that they may not be set free by grace.'
- (17) i.194.3 '... no þing is so pryvy, Ĥat ne it shal be knowun.'
Matt 10.26 Nihil enim est opertum, quod non revelabitur: et occultum, quod non sciatur.
- (18) ii.292.17 What man is so feble of power Ĥat he ne mut nedis suffre deþ?
- (19) i.193.9 For if a man have no desire ne no lust regnyng in him, Ĥat ne he tellip þe same tale how he moost loveþ his God, alle his enemes ben discumfitid ...
'For if a man has no such desire and lust reigning in him that he does not tell the same story ...'
ie roughly, 'which prevents him from telling the same story ...'
If we do not take Ĥat ne he tellip to be 'dependent' on no desire ..., so that the ne is within the scope of the negative no, then ne must be 'pleonastic' (on grounds of good sense). This might be interpreted (within the general account of ĤAT NE-clauses) as being due to the combination If ... no. But there is no evidence that IF is a 'negative meaning word', and the ĤAT NE-clause would be outside the scope of no. The sentence is better interpreted as above.
- (20) ii.366.34 and þis Lord wole not suffre fendis for to tempten his knyȝtis, Ĥat ne pei mai overcome hem, but ȝif þer foli be first in cause.
'and this Lord will not permit devils so to tempt his knights that they are not able to overcome the devils, unless their folly has already been at fault.'
It would be unparalleled to take ne as 'pleonastic', and 'so that the devils may overcome the knights' is less easy from the point of view of pronoun reference.

and i.329.17 quoted as (5) above.

7.1.2.3 Type (c): Clauses with real negation after a negated NP.

It is not clear that types (b), (c) are truly to be distinguished from one another: cf (27) below in particular. I have separated the types on the ground that the $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE-clause of (c) may, in context, be translated by a restrictive relative clause in PE, while that of (b) may not. Note that Latin relative clauses underlie the Vulgate-translated examples of (c). But the presence of a pronoun within the $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE-clause may indicate that type (c) is better regarded as a kind of consecutive, cf the discussion in §7.2.5.2. A closely related clause type is found in (21).

- (21) Matthew (1880) 452.8 for crist was nevere axid
question þat ne he suyde his godhed & made
aseep upon resoun to hem þat axiden þis question
of hym.

This is surely OED That, conj. 5 'With a negative in the dependent clause (the principle clause having also a negative expressed or implied): = But that, but (= L. quin)' and cf OED But, conj. C.14, and it might fall under a wide interpretation of 'consecutive'. Then the division between (b) and (c) might best be regarded as one largely of convenience.

Here the three examples with 'rhetorical question negation' ((30), (31) and ii.290.14) seem rather different from the rest in that they contain the verbs BILEVE, TROWE, WENDE in the main clause, whereas BE is otherwise the most common verb. They are also different in that the most adequate PE translation is probably by WITHOUT + VERBING. Thus they should perhaps be regarded as forming a quite separate group by themselves. In all the examples of type (c) there is a pronoun in

the 'PAT NE-clause which is coreferential to a NP in the main clause: everywhere except in (6) above it is the subject of the 'PAT NE-clause. There are three instances of (not ...) a stoon as coreferential NP; otherwise this NP contains a negative or question word. The term 'negated NP' (rather than 'negative NP') has been chosen to reflect the fact that not all the NPs involved themselves contain NEG or WH. This type of clause is more fully discussed in §7.2.1 below.

- (22) i.171.27 for sip þer is no rewme, ne state of men,
ne persone here, þat he ne failip in holdinge of
þis love of Crist, ... alle we failen in þis
love ...
- (23) ii.244.37 Þer nys no lord of þis worlde, neiþer
in more state ne in lesse, þat he ne shulde take
þis lore of Poule, 3if he wole wele serve God.
- (24) ii.82.27 For to fewe men ben now, þat ne þei hadden
levere heere and lerne veyn lore biside þis, þan
for to lerne þe lore of Crist; ...
- (25) ii.248.32 For þer [sic MS] ben fewe men or noone
þat lyven here þer ful life þat ne þei have
persecucioun, and þus pacience is nedeful.
- (26) i.243.7 'Þer shal not be a stoon leftte upon a stoon,
þat ne it shal be distried.'
Mark 13.2 Non relinquetur lapis super lapidem,
qui non destruat. EV, LV (the) which.
- (27) i.194.2 (1st eg) Crist seiþ þat, 'nouȝt is hilið,
þat ne it shal be shewid and no þing is so pryvy,
þat ne it shal be knowun.'
Matt 10.26 Nihil enim est opertum, quod non
revelabitur: et occultum, quod non sciatur.
- (28) i.25.9 'and þei shal not leve in þee stoon liynge
upon a stoon, þat þei ne shal be removed,' and þi
wallis al distried, ...
Luke 19.44 et non relinquent in te lapidem super
lapidem, ...
But cf Luke 21.6 non relinquetur lapis super
lapidem, qui non destruat, Mark 13.2 (cf 26)
Matt 24.2
- (29) i.269.19 And shortli, noping fallip to þe reule of
preestis þat it ne is ensamplid in propirtees of
ligt.

(30) i.192.14 'What king shulde wende to do batel agens
 anoþer kyng, þat he ne wolde sitte bifore and þenke
 wiseli, wheþer he myȝte ...'
 Luke 14.31 Aut quis rex iturus committere bellum
 adversus alium regem, non sedens prius cogitat, si
 possit ...

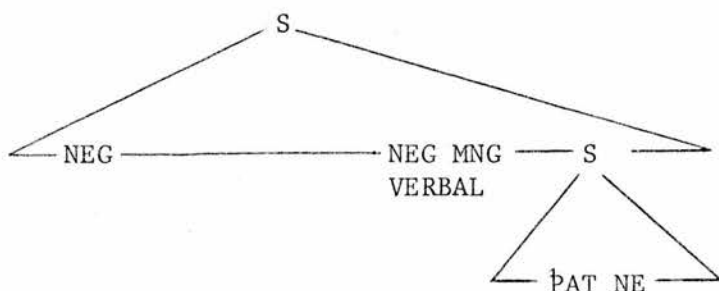
(31) i.406.33 For what man of bileve trowiþ þat Crist
 openede þus his mouþ, ... (long insertion) ...
 þat ne he wolde forse him to knowe hem, boþe for
 worshiþe and for profit?
hem = þes wordis (in insertion)

and i.182.7, i.224.11 (2 egs), i.244.17, i.273.9 (= (6) above), i.409.6,
 ii.290.14, ii.393.13.

7.1.3 ÞAT NE with 'pleonastic' NE.

There are 37 examples here, of which 35 contain a 'negative mean-
 ing word' in the main clause. The ÞAT NE-clause is always 'commanded'
 by the NEG of the higher S, or within its 'scope', as in the previous
 examples. Conjoined subordinate clauses as in (42) do not contain NE.

7.1.3.1 Type (d): ÞAT NE in complement clauses after a 'negative
 meaning word'.



There are 35 examples here, of which 7 have 'rhetorical question
 negation'. The ÞAT NE-clause is always complement of a 'negative
 meaning verbal' (the term 'verbal' chosen to include HAN DOUTE, BE
 DREDE, etc) which occurs in the same sentence as 'sentential negation'.

There are two occurrences of NO DREDE þAT NE S where NO DREDE is best treated as related to IT BE NO DREDE as elsewhere: ii.227.13, ii.228.20. þAT NE-clauses occur as object complements, in apposition to þis and þis treupe as object, and as complement clause with (or possibly as extraposed subject of) IT BE DREDE, DOUTE.

Negative meaning verbals:

DENYE	8	(rhetorical question negation: 1)
DISPROVE	1	
DOUTE sb	BE DOUTE	1
	HAN DOUTE	1
DREDE vb	7	(rhetorical question negation: 5)
DREDE sb	BE DREDE	3
	HAN DREDE	4
	NO DREDE (verbless)	2
EXCUSE	3	
FAILE OF	1	
LETTE	1	
MYSHOPE	1	(with rhetorical question negation)
PUTTE FROM	1	
UNTROWE	1	

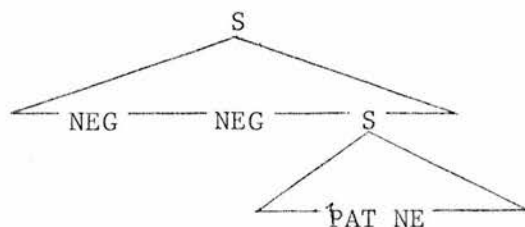
Note that DREDE (and perhaps DOUTE) might be interpreted as 'fear' with a 'real' NE in the subordinate clause. But it seems better to treat both verbs as meaning 'doubt', with 'pleonastic' NE. The matter is discussed below in §7.2.2. The placement of EXCUSE is also a matter for discussion. It is not obvious that EXCUSE should be dealt with here. But it has been tentatively included as a 'negative meaning verbal', cf §7.2.2.

- (32) ii.22.5 For þei myȝten not denye þat ne spiritual werkes, in which bodies worchen, shulden be done algatis in Sabot, ...
- (33) ii.166.24 And fewe freris and clerkes, or noon, may denie soþly þat ne þei assentiden to alle þes harmes, ...
- (34) ii.397.21 and men can not disprove þat ne sich witt, hid for a tyme, profitiþ to Cristis Chirche, as dampnyng of men profitiþ.
'and men cannot deny (?disprove the statement) that such meaning, which is hidden for a time, is profitable to Christ's church, just as the damnation of men is profitable.' cf MED dispreven v. (a)

- (35) ii.128.26 And Cristen men han noo doute þat ne Joon
was verry Maries sone, and þis Marie was his modir; ...
- (36) i.373.20 And drede we not þat ne man mai bi good liif
wynne him God, ...
- (37) ii.316.1 And alȝif men witen not þis clerely for
þis tyme, neþeles þei have no drede þat ne þis
shal sue in hem, for ellis þei weren out of hope, ...
- (38) i.360.22 And no drede to Cristene men þat ne Crist
dide þus for certeyn cause.
- (39) ii.203.10 and so no man is excusid þat he ne shal
helpe on sum maner.
- (40) i.157.17 Apostlis dredden hem of perelis þat weren
nyȝe, but þei failiden not of þis treuþe, þat þei
ne shulde have a good ende, and what þingis þat
felle to hem, it shulde falle to hem for þe betere.
'... but they did not lack/go astray from this
truth, that they were to come ultimately to good, ...'
- (41) ii.255.16 No man mai putte from him, þat ne he shulde
be chosen of God, to figte wiþ her goostli enemyes,
and bi victorie to gete blisse.
- (42) ii.402.15 And no man of bileve, þat trowiþ þat
Crist is al witti, shulde untrowe þat ne Crist telliþ
here of þese dyvysiouns; and þat þe pope, þat feyneþ
him viker of Crist, is a greet cause of alle þese
divisiouns.
- (43) i.409.30 For ȝif þe state of preestis be more worldli
þan knyȝtis state, who drediþ þat ne pride wole sue,
wiþ averice and lecherie, ...
- (44) i.346.24 how myȝte þis Ladi myshope þat ne she shulde
come to hevene?

and i.20.4, i.20.8, i.83.34, i.132.6 (= (8) above), i.240.28, i.245.35,
i.283.8, i.309.9, i.333.15, i.346.3, i.367.4, i.389.26, i.393.5,
ii.43.6, ii.48.36, ii.157.5, ii.190.22, ii.202.7, ii.302.21, ii.333.20.

7.1.3.2 Type (e): $\bar{\text{PAT NE}}$ -clauses after two negations in the main
clause.



There are only 2 examples here; both have PAT NE-clause as object noun clause.

- (45) i.389.1 What man wolde not suppose, þat ne al þis þing was done bi fraude of þis fals womman, for treuþe of Joon displeside hir?
- (46) ii.381.29 But who woot not bi his witt þat ne pese men sillen her soilynge, siþ þei marken to hem þis moneie, but þei tellen not bi þe traveile?
'But who does not know through his reason that these men sell their absolution, since they earmark this money for themselves, but treat the exertion as of no consequence?'

Cf here an example which is parallel except that the question is not equivalent to a negation and no 'pleonastic' NE appears:

- (47) ii.267/8 Lord, whi wolen not þes foure sectis suffre þat Goddis word renne? ... siþ it were best, as þei graunten.

There is also one example that it is not possible to assign with confidence to any of the above groups:

- (48) ii.318.18 For whanne a spirit comeþ to helle, þat synnede bi errour þat þei tauzten, who dredip not þat ne þei han peyne bi newe comynge of siche felowis?

It is clear from the context (as from other references in the sermons, cf i.2.20) that the souls of the damned have more suffering when joined by fresh company. And though it is possible in PE to ask questions which expect the answer everybody, eg Who would like to win £100,000?, such questions seem to depend on their context, and on the presuppositions of the interlocutors in a way that the more grammaticalized 'rhetorical question negative' does not. I know of no evidence that a 'self-answering' question in such a context as the above could be anything other than a 'rhetorical question negative'. This still leaves ample possibilities, however. We might translate:

- (i) 'Who doubts that they suffer?' (Type 2(d))

with 'pleonastic' not in ME; literally 'Who doesn't doubt that they suffer?' Speakers of PE do not always find it easy to distinguish this from (i). Since who dredip ... occurs several times as a rhetorical question: 'who doubts ...?', it may be most satisfactory to regard the not as an element (perhaps 'expressive' or 'strictly ungrammatical') which need not be accounted for in a description of $\hat{P}AT$ NE environments in the same terms as other elements.

- (ii) 'Who is not afraid that they suffer?' (Type 2(d) or (e))
(where their suffering is the unwelcome result that is feared). But DREDE is normally glossed 'doubt' in Who dredip in WSerE.

- (iii) 'Who does not doubt that they do not suffer?' (Type 1(a))
But this seems implausibly complex.

- (iv) 'Who does not fear to suffer?' (Type 2(d) or (e))
ie: 'Which of the heretics does not fear to suffer?'. But this seems inadequate both as translation and in context. It seems safest to take (i) as the best option, though it is far from certain.

7.1.4 Exceptions.

My data for 'exceptions' ie for contexts where $\hat{P}AT$ NE might be expected but simple $\hat{P}AT$ appears, is the sermon corpus, supplemented by individual examples from elsewhere. It does not cover the whole of the sermons as the data for $\hat{P}AT$ NE does. There are instances without $\hat{P}AT$ after NO DREDE, but these are not referred to here. The 'exceptions' are most easily discussed by taking complement clauses separately.

7.1.4.1 Complement clauses: Types (a) (d) (e).

There is one reasonably straightforward exception in the corpus in (49), but (50) may rather show the operation of a further principle.

- (49) i.195.10 and no man can avoide þat oþer men shulden
þus suffre, ...

This is an exception granted that AVOIDE is a 'negative meaning verb', a matter which is discussed below. Note that MS.X*, which is normally very close to D, is here unique among the MSS in reading þat ne.

- (50) i.70.22 It is noo drede þat no man doiþ synne but
3if he faile in bileve ...

This has 'real' negation in the ÞAT-clause, and so contains three negatives, not two as in the above examples. ÞAT NE would presumably have failed to convey the right meaning. There is a parallel instance in LV at 1 Timothy 6.7, and since LV contains ÞAT NE the same argument may also apply here.

Outside the corpus, however, there are clear exceptions:

- (51) i.207.17 and it is no doute to men þat ofte it
profitiþ on boþe sidis to fleen from oo toun to
anoþer, ...
(here note the tendency to adverbialize (it is)
no doute.)
- (52) ii.383.5 and God made nevere coveñaunt wiþ hem þat
he shulde not do wiþouten hem, ne it fell not to
God to make folily such a coveñaunt.
'God never made an agreement with them that he
would not act without them ...'
- (53) ii.375.20 for no man mai reprove God þat he shulde
not speke þus ...
- (54) Matthew (1880) 410.26 but ech prest may ligtly þus
sue crist 3if he lette not hym silf, & þus synne
excusiþ hym not þat he synne not in þis noun
suyt.
- (55) Matthew (1880) 106.7 þei forbeden not utterly þat men
schulden not preche þe gospel, ...
(with 'pleonastic' not)
- (56) iii.346.16 What man can not se þat a stiward of an
erpely lord, ... failiþ foule in his office?
- (57) ii.418.1 And sich fals feyning on God durste þe fend
never take on him, ne seie þat he my3te not synne
ne varie fro Cristis wille.

* The MS sigla used here and below are those assigned in Arnold's edition (vol i p xvii et seq) for A-S and by Hudson (1971a, p 143) for other symbols.

In (57) we should possibly take the negatives nevere, ne with durste; if this is not a full modal then we may not have two negatives in adjacent clauses; cf (58) which lacks ¹PAT NE but does not have negative and 'negative meaning' word in the same clause:

- (58) i.351.20 For it is not leveful, for vertue of
bileve, to denye þat God wrougte in castinge of
þes lottis, ...

7.1.4.2 Types (b) and (c): Consecutive clauses and clauses after negated NP.

There are two major groups of related clauses which provide structures that delimit such ¹PAT NE-clauses and overlap with them; they are illustrated by sentences with a 'generic' personal pronoun heading a relative clause (cf (c)):

- (59) i.170.2 And certeyn þei ben not frendis to Crist
þat han not þis love, ...

and by sentences containing BUT 3IF (cf (b) and (c)):

- (60) i.4.18 for þere nys no man but 3if he longe sum
weie after blise; ...

Since this area seemed interesting enough to merit a separate investigation, and hence a relatively lengthy account, I postpone treatment of it for a separate section below: §7.2.1.

The general conclusion to this section, which will be clarified by succeeding sections, is that it is possible to describe the contexts which favour ¹PAT NE in the sermons in such a way that the construction seems to be very regular: there are few '¹PAT NE-contexts' which do not have NE. Since the description is both 'natural' and 'simple', this high degree of regularity is an important indicator of the ultimate linguistic relevance of particular abstractions from text.

7.1.5 Variation between $\hat{P}AT$ NE PRONOUN and $\hat{P}AT$ PRONOUN NE.

In Bod 788 beside the form $\hat{P}AT$ NE PRONOUN there also occurs a less frequent variant, $\hat{P}AT$ PRONOUN NE, with intervening subject personal pronoun. Examples of both types may conveniently be found in §7.1.2.3. Of 36 examples with subject personal pronoun immediately after $\hat{P}AT$ (NE), 8 (= 22%) place it between $\hat{P}AT$ and NE; he is the pronoun most frequently involved.

	HE	IT	$\hat{P}EI$	SHE	
$\hat{P}AT$ NE PRONOUN	6	8	13	1	= 28
$\hat{P}AT$ PRONOUN NE	5	1	2	0	= 8

There are not many occurrences of $\hat{P}AT$ NE with such single word subjects as man (2), men (1), pis (1) or with initial here (1), per (1), panne (1) and all follow $\hat{P}AT$ NE. On the other hand a single noun subject (eg Crist, pride, lordis but not men, man, pis) occurs immediately after $\hat{P}AT$ NE twelve times, and is never found splitting it. Indeed in i.83.27 the scribes of both D and α first wrote pat crist ne V and then corrected it to pat ne crist V. In view of the normal position of ME NE 'not' before V this is especially significant.

It seems clear from this that subject personal pronouns are at least much more likely to split $\hat{P}AT$ NE than other noun phrases (with the status of man, men, pis unclear), and that he is the most likely pronoun to split $\hat{P}AT$ NE. There is some statistical support for both of these statements. Thus the contingency table which plots personal pronouns against noun phrases is significant, and remains so even if man, men and pis are counted among pronouns (with $\chi^2 = 6.1$, $p < .02$).

	̣PAT ... NE	̣PAT NE	
Personal pronouns	8	28	36
Other noun phrases	0	31	31
	8	59	67

$$\chi^2 = 7.8, df = 1, p < .006$$

The contingency table which plots he against other pronouns is also significant, but more dubiously because of the low total number of instances involved ($\chi^2 = 4.9$ (uncorrected), $df = 1$, hence $p < .03$).

Other conditioning factors are not easily discerned. Type of construction does not seem to be a factor, and ̣PAT PRONOUN NE is reasonably well distributed throughout the MS. But the verb type of the subordinate clause may be involved (though, here too, the total number of instances is low: $\chi^2 = 5.4$ (uncorrected), $df = 1$, $p < .025$).

	Auxiliary	Main verb
̣PAT NE PRONOUN plus	13	15
̣PAT PRONOUN NE plus	7	1

Interestingly, "It must be stated that in dependent sentences the use of ne alone is chiefly with auxiliary verbs." Kent (1890 p 132) writing about Chaucer's use of NE as sole negation within a clause. His examples are not only of contracted forms, so perhaps position immediately before an auxiliary was especially favourable to NE.

7.1.6 Evidence from the other MSS.

7.1.6.1 ̣PAT NE in general.

Dr Anne Hudson of LMH has very kindly supplied me with a list of the variant readings found in her preliminary collation of the other

MSS for the $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ -clauses of the Sunday Gospel and Epistle sermons. What follows is based on an analysis of that collation. Since it is a preliminary collation there may be errors of detail, but the general picture will stand.

The striking feature about the occurrence of $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ is the lack of variation. Not only is there no attempt to remove $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ -constructions in any MS, collation shows only 5 isolated single instances where it is not reproduced (and one of these is clearly an error). There are 4 corrections associated with $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$, and all result in 'regular' $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ constructions. Unfortunately, the strictness of editorial control (see §1.6.1) prevents us from deducing anything about the familiarity of this construction in terms of a scribe's willingness to reproduce it, but note that Z, which may perhaps be an individual production (cf Hudson 1971b, and 1971a p 149) preserves $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$, (and even has it in i.4.18 where other MSS have BUT 3IF).

7.1.6.2 $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT PRONOUN NE}$ and $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE PRONOUN}$ variation.

There are only twelve examples of $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE}$ -clauses with subject personal pronoun in the Sunday Gospels and Epistles, but even from these few examples it is possible to see that $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT PRONOUN NE}$ and $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT NE PRONOUN}$ must have been in free variation in those MSS in which both occur. The collation shows no examples of $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT PRONOUN NE}$ in several MSS (notably D, G, X, Y, β), so such variation may not always be present. Those MSS which have $\bar{\text{P}}\text{AT PRONOUN NE}$, however, differ greatly as to where they have it. If we take the Sunday Gospels and Epistles separately, as we probably should, granted the likelihood that they have separate textual histories, then it seems that in both groups of

sermons, only one pair of MSS has the same set of readings as any other (L = F in the Sunday Gospels), and only one reading is preserved in all MSS (pat ne bei in ii.318.19). This is a surprising contrast to the normal exactness of correspondence between MSS. Moreover, it is surprising that in such meticulously corrected MSS, where even small details are changed (Hudson 1971a pp 149-150), the collation shows no single instance of PAT PRONOUN NE being corrected to PAT NE PRONOUN, or vice versa. The only reasonable conclusion would seem to be that for the scribes and correctors involved the relative order of PRONOUN and NE was a matter of free variation, a feature which it was not considered necessary to reproduce or to correct. In contrast, the only two instances where something else is introduced between PAT and NE are corrected (cf §7.1.5).

It is interesting to speculate that it was graphic conditioning which led to a proportionately higher incidence of PAT PRONOUN NE with he. The similarity of two words he, ne consisting of a graph made (essentially) with two strokes followed by < e > may have favoured the less common variant, even if the sermons were multiplied by dictation.

It is clear that we must regard PAT NE PRONOUN as the basic, unmarked order. It is the most frequent order (in Bod 788, and in the collated portions of other MSS), perhaps in some MSS the only order, and it corresponds to the invariable PAT NE NP. But in some MSS PAT NE PRONOUN, PAT PRONOUN NE seem to be freely substituted for one another, with he especially prone to split PAT NE perhaps because of graphic conditioning.

7.1.7 Conclusion.

ⲡAT NE introduces certain clauses in a double negative context, where rhetorical questions and verbs such as DENYE are counted as negative. Consecutive clauses, clauses which follow a negated NP and complement ⲡAT-clauses which are themselves negative, and which occur within the scope of a negative in the sentence which dominates them are headed by ⲡAT NE, although NE as sentential negation is otherwise quite rare. Complement ⲡAT-clauses which are semantically positive but which occur within the scope of a double negation in the sentence which dominates them are also introduced by ⲡAT NE. NE is the only expression of negation in such clauses. This construction is quite common and it is general in the sermon MSS. It is, moreover, apparently very regular in complement clauses, with few possible contexts failing to show it. The question of its regularity in other clause types has been postponed until §7.2.1. There is, however, variation in the order of NE and a subject personal pronoun: it is clear that ⲡAT NE is the basic order, and in some MSS it may be the only order. But Bod 788 quite frequently has the order ⲡAT PRONOUN NE, particularly with he (which may be graphically conditioned). A collation of the readings of the Sunday Gospel and Epistle sermons enables us to deduce that for some scribes at least the orders ⲡAT PRONOUN NE and ⲡAT NE PRONOUN must have been in free variation.

7.2 The Grammar of ⲡAT NE-Clauses Characterized

7.2.0 Introduction.

This major section of the chapter essentially consists of a series of studies designed to illuminate the grammar of ⲡAT NE-clauses in a

way that goes well beyond the basic description which has preceded. Comparisons with PE, ME and Latin are used in an attempt to provide an account of the grammar and history of \hat{P} AT NE-clauses as very briefly outlined in §7.0.4. But first I consider in some detail the relationship between noncomplement \hat{P} AT NE-clauses and constructions which are close to them in meaning in order to obtain a clearer view of the grammar and regularity of \hat{P} AT NE-clauses by examining their limits.

7.2.1 Constructions which oppose noncomplement \hat{P} AT NE-clauses.

7.2.1.0 There are three constructions which seem likely, at least on a relatively indelicate analysis, to represent alternative choices to the use of a \hat{P} AT NE-clause in certain positions. They are certain uses of:

(i) Negative relative clause, when within negative main clause (corresponds to \hat{P} AT NE type (c)).

(ii) BUT 3IF-clause, when within negative main clause (corresponds to \hat{P} AT NE types (b) and (c)).

(iii) BUT + noun phrase with relative clause, when within negative main clause (corresponds to \hat{P} AT NE type (c)).

Each of the three constructions has wider uses, but seems in certain contexts to be effectively synonymous to a construction with \hat{P} AT NE. It seemed useful to compare the incidence of \hat{P} AT NE-clauses with the incidence of these 'contextually synonymous' constructions, particularly where the degree of parallelism in surface syntax made a real choice (of some kind) between \hat{P} AT NE and the other construction(s) likely. The aims of the comparison were to obtain a clearer view of the \hat{P} AT NE

construction by putting it in opposition to alternatives, and to provide some account of the choices made in "saying (nearly) the same thing" in one area of WSerE. Data for (i) and (iii) is not plentiful, but \bar{P} AT NE-clauses seem indeed to oppose these other constructions and to have occupied their own distinctive restricted domain.

For each of these 3 constructional types the data used was the sermon corpus, and for each type the collection of relevant examples is (in intention) complete. Other examples are cited for illustration, but are not included where figures are given. The corpus used for \bar{P} AT NE, however, was the whole of Arnold vols i and ii: so figures for \bar{P} AT NE and the 3 constructions are not directly comparable. Those for \bar{P} AT NE are from a corpus roughly five times as large as that which provides the others.

7.2.1.1 Negative relative clause, when within a negative main clause.

Examples here parallel type (c): \bar{P} AT NE-clause after negated noun phrase. Examples:

- (61) i.200.12 for Seint Poul biddiþ þat he þat traveiliþ
not, shulde not ete by colour of þis office.
(cf i.224.11 for he seiþ, 'þat now3t is hilið þat
ne it shal be shewid' þanne, and 'noþing is privy
now þat ne it shal be knowun' þanne.)
- (62) i.170.2 And certeyn þei ben not frendis to Crist
þat han not þis love, but oonli þei þat han þis
love; ...
- (63) i.28.14 For who shulde make a reule to men þat
he knoweþ not, ne haþ no maistrie of hem, ne
techyng to kepen it?

As it happens, all examples of negative relative clauses within a negative main clause found in the corpus are 'generic' in interpretation, (paraphraseable in PE by 'any N who'), and hence an

'alternative expression' with $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE seems possible. The instances involved, listed with their governing head noun phrases, are:

<u>pei</u> :	i.170.2
<u>he</u> :	i.200.12, i.204.9, ii.55.14; outside the corpus ii.406.4
<u>men</u> :	i.28.14
<u>who ever</u> :	i.190.36
<u>ech of 3ou</u> :	i.193.3

None of these noun phrase heads is negative, whereas $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE always has a noun phrase containing NEG or WH as antecedent except for three examples which contain a stoon, and render almost identical passages of the Vulgate: (i.25.9, i.243.7, ii.393.13; the first two quoted above as (28) and (26)).* However, the fact that the only occurrence of $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE in the gospels of WBib is in the LV passage corresponding to one of these examples (Matt 24.2; its uniqueness in the LV gospels is apparent from Smith 1907 p 485) may make us wonder whether this phrase should be regarded as a special restricted use. A second point of difference is that with $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE-clauses the governing noun phrases are indefinite (necessarily when negative), whereas here the personal pronouns and ech of 3ou are presumably syntactically definite; an indefinite noun phrase may have negation 'incorporated' into it (Klima 1964 p 273 et seq), whereas a definite noun phrase is not capable of such 'negative incorporation' (in PE syntax). It is not at all clear what the best statement of difference between these clause types is (eg he pat ne he may have been avoided for stylistic reasons in i.200.12, ii.55.14).

* In i.25.9 the $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE-clause does not actually translate part of the immediate Vulgate text, but is clearly influenced by parallel passages elsewhere in the Vulgate, noted above with (28). Consequently i.25.9 has been treated as if the $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE-clause rendered Vulgate Latin both here and in §7.2.1.2.

For the moment we may tentatively put it this way: when a 'generic' interpretation is in question, a negative head noun phrase is found followed by *ȝAT NE*, an indefinite head noun phrase by *ȝAT NE* or a relative clause, and a definite head noun phrase by a relative clause.

7.2.1.2 BUT 3IF-clause, when within a negative main clause.

There are examples here which parallel types (b) and (c), though instances of 'rhetorical question negation' in type (b) have not been found.

The parallel between BUT 3IF-clauses and *ȝAT NE*-consecutive clauses is not well enough supported by examples of either type to make a comparison worth while; so I merely note that (indelicately at least) there is the possibility of alternation:

- (64) i.10.6 he [sc God] cannot worche, but 3if he
medle mercy, ...
(cf ii.100.1 but þei ben not hardid, þat ne þei
mai be loosid bi grace; ...)
- (65) ii.73.6 And þis man synnep not aftir, ... but 3if
it be liȝt veniel synne, ...
(cf 'And this man does not afterwards sin in such
a way that it is not light venial sin.')

However, there are ample BUT 3IF-clauses which parallel *ȝAT NE*-clauses after a noun phrase. The best examples are (66) where the reading of Z supports alternation, and those with a 'rhetorical question negative' in the main clause:

- (66) i.4.18 þere nys no man but 3if he longe sum weie
after blise; ...
(where MS Z: þat he ne for but 3if he)
(cf i.171.27 þer is no rewme, ne state of men, ne
persone here, þat he ne failiþ in holdinge of þis
love of Crist, ...)

- (67) i.5.34 who shal come to hevene but 3if he be pore
in spirit; ...?
(cf i.192.14 'What king shulde wende to do batel
agens anoper kyng, þat he ne wolde sitte bfore
and þenke wiseli,' ...?)

In order to isolate a group of BUT 3IF-clauses which would parallel PAT NE-clauses after noun phrases sufficiently in both meaning and construction to provide an illuminating comparison, I adopted the following criteria (besides occurrence in a main clause containing sentential negation):

1 There was a noun phrase in the main clause coreferential to one in the BUT 3IF-clause. For convenience I refer to these noun phrases below as NP(S₁) and NP(S₂) respectively.

2 NP(S₁) (the coreferential noun phrase in the main clause) is not 'fully specified', in that it is possible to provide a (more or less loose) PE paraphrase in which the BUT 3IF-clause is rendered as a restrictive relative clause having NP(S₁) as its head. The point of this restriction is to parallel PAT NE, where such a paraphrase is always possible, by excluding examples like (64) and (68).

- (68) i.36.1 but if Crist of his power and of his grace
for3yve þis synne, it may never be for3yven.

This is neither adequately, nor grammatically, rendered by: 'This sin which is not forgiven by Christ's power and grace may never be forgiven', where the relative clause is restrictive. The result of applying the two criteria above is a group of 44 BUT 3IF-clauses with as NP(S₁):
a N, N(plural), negN, including 4 examples with pronouns (eg i.189.31), and, less confidently, 3e i.15.8, men þat S ii.234.20. All the sentences are open to paraphrase with a relative clause of 'generic' interpretation ('any N who' 'anyone who' etc) as was the case with type (i) above.*

There are 18 \bar{P} AT NE-clauses of type (c), and I tabulate 46 examples of BUT 3IF-clauses below, since 2 of the 44 have 2 pairs of coreferential pronouns. Between \bar{P} AT NE-clauses (3 examples) and BUT 3IF-clauses (7 examples) which have 'rhetorical question negation' in the main clause, there is no discernible difference beyond that of the constructions themselves, and the greater frequency of BUT 3IF-clauses (from a smaller corpus). In contrast, however, when sentential negation in the main clause is by a negative word, there are several interesting points of difference between \bar{P} AT NE-clauses and BUT 3IF-clauses. They may be briefly stated: \bar{P} AT NE is preferred when the verb of the main clause is BE (in fact, existential BE), when the NP is subject of the main clause, and negative, and when the coreferential NP in the subordinate clause is also its subject. Exceptions to these preferences tend to be motivated by the Vulgate. Thus \bar{P} AT NE is preferred in quite a sharply defined area.

The various points here are most conveniently demonstrated in a series of tables.

* (from previous page) It was suggested above that the occurrence of a definite NP(S₁) might be a factor inhibiting the occurrence of \bar{P} AT NE. There are only 5 examples with BUT 3IF which have a definite NP(S₁) (the NP is a personal or relative pronoun), and if these examples are omitted from consideration, there is no material change to the ensuing results and discussion.

Finite verb in main clause with \bar{P} AT NE and BUT 3IF

('Q' precedes the number found rendering the Vulgate)

	\bar{P} AT NE	BUT 3IF
1 BE (with locative or temporal predicate, or without predicate)	8 (Q = 0)	1
2 BE (in passive, + adjective)	5 (Q = 5)	9
3 Other	2 (Q = 1)	29
	<hr/> 15	<hr/> 39

$$\chi^2 = 24.2, df = 2, p < .00001$$

Statistically, this is a highly significant result. Here, and subsequently, I have not considered 'empty' \bar{P} ER as having the status of noun phrase subject. So in (69) no lord is taken as the subject, and BE is said to occur without predicate.

(69) ii.244.38 \bar{P} er nys no lord of þis worlde, ... \bar{p} at
he ne shulde take þis lore of Poule, ...

In PE the function of THERE is largely thematic, though it happens to occur mainly in 'existential' sentences (cf Quirk et al 1972 §§14.27, 30; Jespersen MEG VII.3.25,6); in LME \bar{P} ER occurred more widely, eg with transitive verbs (OED There, adv. 4.b), and when 'empty' it seems to be best interpreted as thematic for ME (note its use in translation for preserving the original's word order). Hence the division into the 3 categories of the table is justified, and the locative and temporal predicates of BE are such that the term 'existential' seems readily applicable. It is very clear from this table that the finite verb of the main clause is a major factor in the choice of \bar{P} AT NE. Notice, too, that Vulgate influence is clearly marked in categories 2 and 3, and may be partly responsible for \bar{P} AT NE here.

Incidence of negative NP(S₁) with PAT NE and BUT 3IF

	PAT NE	BUT 3IF
NP(S ₁) is negative	12 (Q = 3)	23
NP(S ₁) is not negative	3 (Q = 3)	16

Here the 3 passages with positive NP are those remarked above as rendering very similar passages of the Vulgate, and all involve the noun phrase a stoon (cf §7.2.1.1 and note).

Incidence of NP(S₁) as subject with PAT NE and BUT 3IF

	PAT NE	BUT 3IF
NP(S ₁) is subject	14	32
NP(S ₁) is not subject	1	7

Here PER is treated as a thematic element, not as a noun phrase, and the figure given for subject includes (70).

(70) i.20.14 it semep no cause but if it be ypocrisie, ...

Incidence of NP(S₂) as subject with PAT NE and BUT 3IF

	PAT NE	BUT 3IF
NP(S ₂) is subject	14	29
NP(S ₂) is not subject	1	10

None of these three tables is statistically significant but taken together the disproportions involved are fairly striking nonetheless.

From this we can see that there is a very strong association between PAT NE (rather than BUT 3IF) and BE as finite verb of main clause, especially when BE is 'existential'. It may seem likely, though not conclusively demonstrated, that PAT NE is favoured over BUT 3IF where NP(S₁) is negative, or subject (discounting PER), or where

NP(S₂) is subject. There seems indeed to be an especially restricted area in which \hat{P} AT NE is preferred, though each of the conditioning factors is on occasion unfulfilled. And it seems that BUT 3IF rather tends to avoid \hat{P} AT NE's 'central area', although occurrences of BUT 3IF in the sermons as a whole would probably outnumber \hat{P} AT NE in this category. The notion of \hat{P} AT NE's restricted area of occurrence is made clear by this table which presents the information given above codified with respect to individual sentences.

\hat{P} AT NE's restricted area of occurrence

The columns are: (a) '+' = finite verb of S₁ is BE
 (b) '+' = NP(S₁) is negative
 (c) '+' = NP(S₁) is subject
 (d) '+' = NP(S₂) is subject

Number of sentences in
 each category with:

BUT(N)	BUT 3IF	\hat{P} AT NE	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
	5	10	+	+	+	+
2	11	1	-	+	+	+
	1	2	+	-	+	+
	3	1	+	+	+	-
	10		-	-	+	+
	1		-	+	+	-
1	2		-	+	-	+
	1		+	-	+	-
	1		+	+	-	-
1			-	+	-	-
		1	-	-	-	+
	4		-	-	-	-

Incidence of '-' with \hat{P} AT NE: 12% (7/60). If we omit the 6 sentences which render the Vulgate, then incidence is 6% (2/36).

Incidence of '-' with BUT 3IF: 39% (61/156). If we omit the 3 sentences which render the Vulgate, then incidence is 40% (57/144).

One final conditioning factor seems probable: the fact of translation from the Vulgate, particularly a Vulgate relative clause. Of the 5 \hat{P} AT NE-clauses which show at least one minus in the table above, three are Vulgate translations, namely those of §7.2.1.1, including i.25.9 (which is the least 'central' of the examples, complying with only one of the four criteria noted, and cf note to §7.2.1.1).

If we omit Vulgate-translated examples (including i.25.9) from consideration, the degree to which \hat{P} AT NE does not comply with the four criteria of the table drops very sharply, but the same is not true for BUT 3IF (see figures below table). BUT 3IF is any case rarer as Vulgate rendering: 3 examples only out of 39. The influence of the Vulgate may be seen also from the first two tables. It may well be that these Vulgate-renderings owe something to the equation QUI/QUOD = \hat{P} AT, since all the 6 examples render a Vulgate relative clause.

It seems that we may conclude from this comparison with BUT 3IF that there was a narrow range of conditions within which \hat{P} AT NE especially tended to occur in type (c). The conditions are certainly that the finite verb of the main clause is BE (particularly when it does not merely introduce another verbal or adjectival element), and probably also that the coreferential noun phrases should be subject of their respective clauses, and that the noun phrase in the main clause should be negative. Though \hat{P} AT NE occurs where not all of these 4 conditions apply, it then tends to be a rendering of a Vulgate relative clause. Curiously, however, similar conditions do not distinguish instances of \hat{P} AT NE with 'rhetorical question negation' in the main clause from parallel examples with BUT 3IF: the verb of the main clause

is not BE with \hat{P} AT NE (or BUT 3IF). Furthermore 'rhetorical question negation' within the subject noun phrase and a coreferential subject pronoun in the subordinate clause are found with \hat{P} AT NE and almost always with BUT 3IF.

7.2.1.3 BUT + noun phrase with relative clause, when within a negative main clause.

When BUT is followed by a relative clause headed by (NP) \hat{P} AT, the resulting structure is fairly close to that found with \hat{P} AT NE.

- (71) i.269.10 For he shulde grutche agens nou3t but \hat{p} at
 \hat{p} at smacchi3 synne.
(cf i.25.9 ' \hat{p} ei shal not leve in \hat{p} ee a stoon
liying upon a stoon,' \hat{p} at \hat{p} ei ne shal be removed ...)

We might imagine that there was a choice between BUT \hat{P} AT \hat{P} AT and \hat{P} AT NE IT in (71). Sentences which present a similar parallel to \hat{P} AT NE-clauses are listed below. They differ only in containing BUT (NP) \hat{P} AT where the supposed parallel would have \hat{P} AT NE PRONOUN (except for i.23.36 which lacks NP(S₁), and where but \hat{p} at might best be rendered 'unless', and i.173.7 which contains BUT + VERBING). Other corpus examples of BUT followed by a clause are not relevant; indeed the only noun clauses after BUT noted in the sermons have BUT = 'except that' (OED But, prep, conj, adv. 8,9) (ii.290.36, ?ii.182.4, but note MS δ but \hat{p} at in i.20.4).

i.23.36, i.173.7, i.269.10; ii.253.1, ii.257.4, ii.289.28,
ii.413.22.

None of these contains BE as finite verb in the main clause, but all (except i.23.36) have a negative NP(S₁). They vary with respect to the other two criteria of §7.2.1.2. Such 'BUT + NP + relative clause' constructions have not been found within \hat{P} AT NE's 'central area',

but there are too few examples involved to say more than that there is no evidence of much overlap between the contexts occupied by the two constructions.

7.2.1.4 Conclusion.

This triple comparison has shown that the occurrence of $\bar{\text{PAT}} \text{ NE}$ after a negated noun phrase might be considered as occurring especially frequently within a certain 'area' bounded by three other constructions, with evidence of apparent 'free variation' with $\text{BUT } 3\text{IF}$, and perhaps with relative clauses after an antecedent in a negative clause. When the relevant noun phrase of the main clause is indefinite (especially when it is negative), and when the verb of the main clause is BE (especially when its predicate is not adjective or participle), then most of the examples of $\bar{\text{PAT}} \text{ NE}$ are found (with the more stringent characterization applying when the Vulgate is not being translated). It seems also to favour a structure in which each of the coreferential NPs is subject of its clause. When $\bar{\text{PAT}} \text{ NE}$ occurs after a noun phrase containing 'rhetorical question negation' however, there is no evidence of such 'bounding', and the most clear-cut constraint on $\bar{\text{PAT}} \text{ NE}$ after negated NP, that the verb of the main clause is BE , does not obtain.

7.2.2 'Negative meaning verbals'.

Under type (d) with 'pleonastic' NE , I listed a group of verbs and phrasal verbs which were dubbed 'negative meaning'. For some the description seemed clearly justifiable, eg DENYE ; for others much less so, eg EXCUSE . In this section I want to present some PE evidence which will parallel and shed light on the ME use of $\bar{\text{PAT}} \text{ NE}$ with these verbals, and incidentally justify in part the description given above.

Certain formatives in PE provide a context in which phrases like make anything of oneself, lift a finger to help anyone can occur: these contexts include negative, question and conditional clauses, and the clause complement of verbs like deny. Klima (1964) called the inducing formative 'affective'. "As for the grammatical similarities of neg, wh [the question formative - AW] and only, these will now be described as resulting from the presence of a common grammatico-semantic feature to be referred to as Affect(ive)." Klima (1964 p 313). He distinguished the use of a punctual verb with until + time adverbial as requiring sentential negation, not merely an affective formative, in construction with it. Hence the ungrammaticality of (i), and Klima's analysis of deny (etc) as having a deep structure sentential negative in the complement clause, cf (iv):

- (i) *If Bill Shankley's men kick off until after the referee starts the game, Leeds will probably be awarded a penalty.
- (ii) Fortunately Bill Shankley's men didn't kick off until after the referee started the game.
- (iii) I denied that Mary had ever lifted a finger to help any teetotaller.
- (iv) I denied that Mary had ever fallen over until after she had drunk at least half a bottle.

Despite indeterminacy and variation in the data, we have here tests for isolating 'affective contexts', and, within them a narrower class of 'negative contexts'. The test-expressions involved may be divided into three groups:

- (A) any ever anyone ... etc.

Here it is important to distinguish 'generic' from 'non-generic' any. The difference is seen in the following examples:

- (v) Did Miss Jean Brodie give anyone permission to go and smoke in the lavatory?

Taking anyone generically:

- (vi) Yes, Miss Jean Brodie gave anyone permission to go.
(vii) No, Miss Jean Brodie only gave Paula Jenkins permission to go.

Taking anyone non-generically:

- (viii) Yes, Miss Jean Brodie gave Paula Jenkins permission to go.

It is the non-generic any with which we are concerned. The best test in practice is provided by phrases like the following:

making anything of oneself, get anywhere with a problem, have anything on the criminal, get anything out of life, do anything about a situation, ever (when uncombined - ie not OED Ever, adv. 1.b, 5.b.).

since these do not normally permit generics.

The second group of test expressions includes:

- (B) (He didn't) give a fig, give a damn, lift a finger, sleep a wink, turn a hair, bat an eye, cut any ice with Thomas (interpreted as idiomatic expressions); (he didn't) care for cheese; (he can't) bear, abide interference; (he won't) brook interference; (he can't) help snuffling; unstressed unmodified much.

When unmarked intonation is preserved, these two tests provide a means of isolating 'affective contexts'. Such contexts include (i) clauses which are questions or conditions, or which contain sentential negation; (ii) clauses which are subordinate to 'affective' formatives: the object clause of deny, doubt etc, clauses after until, before, relative clauses after anybody who, a man who (non-specific) (but cf §7.2.3 below), phrases after before, without; (iii) subject clauses of be impossible, be odd, be surprising, surprise; eg:

- (ix) Will Miss Brodie brook much interference with her girls?
(x) If you can help snuffling, please stop.

(xi) Let's leave before they do anything about the situation.

(xii) It's odd that Bill cut any ice with d'Arcy.

There is considerable dialectal variation in this area; for example Klima (1964 p 287-8) takes can help VERBING to be a phrase which, like until + time adverbial indicates a 'negative context' rather than an 'affective' one, though in my dialect it is perfectly grammatical in 'affective contexts'. Similarly the modal need: Klima (1964 p 287-8) beside Quirk et al (1972 §3.21). There is substantial variation between judgements with some words (eg blame), and uncertainty with others (eg be uncertain).

(xiii) Paul (always) blamed Mary for trying to make anything of herself.

(xiv) Paul (always) blamed Mary for having lifted a finger to help the internees.

(xv) *Paul (always) blamed Mary for having done anything much to help the internees.

(xvi) *Paul (always) blamed Mary for having been all that willing to help down and outs.

(xvii) ?Paul was uncertain that Mary had ever lifted a finger to help her mother.

(xviii) ?Paul was uncertain that John had got anywhere much with these negative sentences.

Nevertheless, this is a useful test, giving sufficiently consistent results on the whole for my purposes.

The third test expression is:

(C) punctual verb + until + time adverbial.

(xix) Liverpool didn't kick off until after the referee had blown his whistle.

(xx) The yacht didn't cast off until after the tide had turned.

This test isolates a narrower range of contexts which we may call 'strictly negative contexts'. They are those which Klima (1964 pp 287, 292 et seq) took to have sentential negation within the same deep structure S as the test phrase.

How can we fairly draw a parallel between ME and PE here?

Granted that we suppose that there is some degree of parallelism or isomorphism between the syntax (and semantics) of ME and PE in this area, it seems reasonable to consider how the 'negative meaning verbals' of WSerE may be translated into PE in their actual context of occurrence, and test the PE translations for status as 'negative meaning' elements. We should be careful that a reasonable range of equivalents is chosen, and that they are fairly general in meaning - ie that they 'occupy' a reasonably large proportion of the 'area' of meaning of the lexical item translated, and do not represent highly specialized usages in ME or PE. There are difficulties in choosing equivalents. For some verbs, such as DENYE, MISHOPE the matter seems straightforward enough; but appropriate equivalents for EXCUSE, FAILE OF, PUTTE FROM, UNTROWE are more difficult. However, results are encouraging. The unavoidable looseness of such a comparison, and the likelihood of lexical idiosyncrasy preclude any hopes of a very exact parallelism, but in general we find that the group of putative 'negative meaning verbals' of WSerE corresponds to verbs and phrases which occur with 'affective' (and usually 'strictly negative') contexts in PE. Consequently we have three justifications for calling DENYE etc 'negative meaning', or assigning a feature [+ NEG] to such verbs. Firstly there is simplicity: a description which deals with $\hat{P}AT$ NE in terms of a

double negation will be simpler than any other, because the distributional statement made for type (d) will be more like that made for the other groups, especially type (e). Secondly, this generalization of statement seems (intuitively) to be appropriate. And thirdly, there is naturalness: here firmly demonstrated in the guise of a substantial parallel from a closely related area of a closely related language. The results are summarized below and a discussion of particular verbs and difficulties follows. The verbs discussed are marked with an asterisk. PE equivalents occur in the order in which they seem preferable (except with FAILE OF where they are evenly balanced).

<u>WSerE verbal</u>	<u>PE equivalents</u>	<u>Possibility in subordinate</u> <u>THAT - clause or VERBING</u> <u>of elements from group:</u>			
		A	B	C	
(AVOIDE)*	deny	+	+	+	
	refute, disprove, invali- date, nullify (the argument, suggestion that ...)	+	+	-	
DENYE	deny	+	+	+	
	declare it to be untrue	+	+	-	
DOUTE* DREDE* and phrases }	{doubt be uncertain (be afraid lest, in case) (be afraid that)	+	+	+	
		+	?+	-	
		+	-	-	
		-	-	-	
DISPROVE	deny	+	+	+	
	disprove, refute	+	+	-	
	prove to be false	+	+	-	
cf MED disprēven (a) 'To disprove, refute, or deny' of which 'deny' is best in ii.397.21					
EXCUSE*	clear, declare innocent	+	?+	-	ii.48.36
	excuse, exempt (duty)	+	+	0	ii.203.10
	justify, excuse (past act)	-	-	-	i.393.2
	clear, declare innocent	+	?+	-	

WSerE verbals	PE equivalents	Possibility in subordinate THAT - clause or VERBING of elements from group:		
		A	B	C
FAILE OF	lack, be deficient in	+	+	-
	go astray from, come short of	+	+	-
cf OED Fail, v. II MED failen v. III 'to lack' especially OED 6.b, MED 8.(a); and OED III 'to fall short ...', especially 11 'to be at fault; miss the mark, go astray, err,' and MED 2.(a) and 3a.				
LETTE	prevent, stop, hinder	+	+	0
MYSHOPE	despair	+	+	+
PUTTE FROM	avoid, get out of (doing)	+	+	0
	(repudiate (the idea))	+	+	+
cf OED Put, v. ¹ ***, but no heading is exactly suitable for ii.255.16				
(REPROVE)*	reprove, rebuke, reproach	+	+	-
	blame	+	?	-
NOT SUPPOSE	not think, believe	+	+	+
	not be of the opinion	+	+	-
UNTROWE	have no belief, not believe	+	+	-
	disbelieve	+	?+	-
NOT WITE	not know	+	(?)+	-
	not be aware	+	(?)+	-

Sentences like this: "Until they arrived I had despaired of getting off the flats until the tide turned." show that despair may be followed by until + time adverbial belonging to the subordinate clause. But with prevent, avoid it is not possible to tell whether the until phrase modifies the main verb or the infinitive which follows it. Such indeterminacy is marked 0 in the table.

Most of the verbs in this table are consistent with a following 'strictly negative' context (+++, or perhaps ++0), not merely with an 'affective' context (++-). The only verbs whose PE equivalents reject a 'strictly negative' context (ie have C -) are UNTROWE, NOT WITE, the more dubious EXCUSE, FAILE OF (and, without PAT NE, REPROVE). Even

these provide 'affective' contexts except for EXCUSE. We are clearly justified in calling these verbs 'negative meaning' as a group, though it is not clear whether we should regard them as inducing 'strictly negative' or merely 'affective' contexts, granted that any comparison such as the above must be rather imprecise.

Remarks on particular verbs follow; I append them in list form.

AVOIDE. (Exception)

- (72) i.195.8 And þis resoun þat Crist makip moveþ trewe
men þat han witt, to be hardi in Goddis cause, and
for him to suffre martirdom; and no man can avoide
þat oþer men shulden þus suffre, or ellis be untrewē
to God, as ben þes heretikes.

Cf MED avoiden v. 4.(c) 'refute (an argument ...), deny (a statement)' which seems to provide the best translation. The implication of the parallels with PE, as of those with DENYE and DISPROVE, is that ¹PAT NE might have been possible here, a notion supported by the isolated occurrence of ¹PAT NE in X, a MS with a text normally very close to D. However, neither OED nor MED support the idea that AVOIDE occurs with redundant negation. But if ¹PAT NE is a rather restricted usage, as is suggested below, §7.2.6.1, exceptions might have occurred, perhaps especially with an apparently recent and infrequent verb like AVOIDE, because of the familiarity of such constructions in other varieties of ME.

DREDE, DOUTE. The fact that these have been glossed 'doubt' and not 'fear' (sc. 'that ... not') needs defence in the light of examples like (73).

- (73) i.373.20 And drede we not þat ne man mai bi good liif
wynne him God, þat is al maner of tresour, ...
'And let us not doubt that man can obtain God for
himself ...'
'And let us not fear that man cannot obtain God for
himself ...'

Should such examples be dealt with as type (a), or type (d)? For DOUTE, both noun and verb, OED and MED record the sense 'doubt' plentifully; and of over 20 examples noticed in the sermons all are 'doubt' or 'hesitate'. So eg, (35) is best taken as type (d), with DOUTE = 'doubt', granted that the word is polysemous for ME, and not just 'vague'. For DREDE, on the other hand, the sense 'doubt' is much less well supported by the dictionaries. OED calls the sense 'doubt' 'rare' for the verb (OED Dread, v. 2. c), and MED gives only three quotations, including one from the sermons (MED drēden v. 5). But the sense 'doubt' is well supported for the noun, though it seems to be largely (perhaps entirely) restricted to 'affective' and 'strictly negative' contexts (OED Dread, sb. 3, MED drēd(e n. 4). From such evidence we might feel inclined to treat DREDE as 'vague', having a sense centered on 'fear, be apprehensive,' with a contextual extension to a sense near 'doubt', (as OED treats the somewhat parallel use of fear in 18C: OED Fear, v. 8.c.) rather than as polysemous, or as requiring two distinct lexical entries in a TG. But in some instances it is difficult to take DREDE as merely a contextual extension of 'fear, be apprehensive', since no trace of this sense is discernible, eg in (74), whereas for both noun and verb the sense 'doubt' is always fully appropriate in a context NEG-DREDE-⁴PAT NE.

- (74) i.409.30 For ȝif þe state of preestis be more worldli
 þan knyȝtis state, who dredip þat ne pride wole sue,
 wiþ averice and lecherie, ...?

Consequently it seems both more suitable and convenient to take all instances of NEG-DREDE-⁴PAT NE to contain DREDE = 'doubt', and treat

DREDE as having 2 lexical entries in any TG.* This sense seems to be well enough supported in WSerE not to be regarded as a 'highly specialized use' for that text.

EXCUSE. The three examples in the sermons may be supplemented by 2 others found in the Wyclifite Letter to Pope Urban:

- (75) iii.506.7 And merciful entent excusid not Peter,
þat ne Crist cleped hym Sathanas; so blynde
entent and wicked counseil excuses not þe pope
here; bot if he aske of trew prestis þat þei
travel more þan þei may, he is not excusid by
resoun of God þat ne he is Anticrist.

It is difficult (though perhaps not impossible) to construe the second example here as consecutive, though easier with the first example. But it is much more natural to take the first instance as MED excūsen v.

6.(a) 'to free or relieve (of a penalty, punishment ...)' and the second to mean '... he is not cleared of (the charge of) being Antichrist' (MED l(a)(b) 'declare free of guilt', 'free of blame'). The sermon examples are more ambiguous.

- (76) ii.48.36 And ignoraunce excusiþ hem not, þat ne
þei synnen þus grevously, for þei shulden kunne
Goddis lawe, and wite how God wole be served.

(76) is most straightforwardly taken with MED l(b), but it might be consecutive or have þat ne S in construction with ignoraunce. (77) might be type (c) with þat he ne ... after no man, though MED excūsen v. 6.(a) seems somewhat better in context.

- (77) ii.203.10 and so no man is excusid þat he ne shal
helpe on sum maner.

* DREDE 'fear' and DREDE 'doubt' may be syntactically distinct in that DREDE 'fear' may well not be a 'negative meaning verb' cf i.185.9 (and also § 7.2.5.1). This example may imply an opposition NEG-DREDE ('fear') - PAT : NEG-DREDE ('doubt') - PAT NE (note that LESTE which might provide such a distinction has not been found introducing noun clauses in the sermon corpus).

But on the basis of (75) we may tentatively regard EXCUSE in WSerE as a 'negative meaning verb' which takes a ¹PAT NE-clause within its verbal complement. The most serious problem is (78):

- (78) i.393.2 For no man may excuse þis, siþ God and
man lyvede þus to teche men þe weye to hevene
and fle þe falsnesse of þe fend, and 3it man
leveþ Cristis lore, and goiþ þe weie þat þe fend
techip, þat ne þei leden a liif here to make hem
dampned aftirward.

It seems necessary to take may excuse þis ... þat ne þei leden ... to represent the construction, with a long 'aside' because otherwise we get ¹PAT NE outside a negative context. There is a similar lengthy encapsulation in i.406.33. The encapsulation of (78) is omitted in no MS, though 3 (E, Z, α) do not have þat ne. Perhaps this shows that the scribes found the construction difficult, which might support our taking it this way. Moreover, other interpretations pose a problem in that þis lacks any obvious referent in context. PE equivalents in context are 'defend as right, justify' (MED 2, OED 2); 'extenuate, seek to extenuate or remove the blame of (an acknowledged fault)' (MED 3, OED 1.b). Of these, neither (unless, very doubtfully, the second) motivates an 'affective' context. This may simply be an idiosyncratic difference between PE and ME, but it is worth comparing an instance in the Latin of De Officio Pastoralis in support of the interpretation of EXCUSE as a 'negative meaning verb'.

- (79) De Off Past 41.17 ideo licet instituerit mille
vicarios, non tamen excusat quin lepra peccati
proprio suo spiritui correspondet
'although he shall have instituted a thousand vicars,
yet he does not clear himself of the charge that
the leprosy of sin corresponds to his own spirit.'

This use of EXCUSARE QUIN in Wyclif's English-influenced Latin is parallel in construction to (78) and may not be far from it in meaning.

It provides a little support for the treatment of EXCUSE as a 'negative meaning verb' both in general, and in (78).

REPROVE. (Exception)

- (80) ii.375.20 Þus men shulden studie þe witte þat
God spekiþ in holy writt; for no man mai reprove
God þat he shulde not speke þus, siþ he is lord
of wordis and witt, and of al partis of þis world.

The syntax of this is difficult. ÞAT S may be object (cf OED Reprove, v. 3), or have ÞAT = 'in that', 'because' (OED That, conj. 1.b, 2), or introducing indirect speech. The second two demand real negation in the ÞAT-clause. However, if REPROVE is a 'negative meaning verb' as PE parallels may indicate, then clearly the best interpretation is to take ÞAT S as object and suppose that ÞAT NE is avoided here because the (readiest) interpretation of þat ne he shulde speke þus would be: 'no man may reprove God because he should speak in this way,' which would be the reverse of what was intended. The example would then be parallel to (50), briefly discussed in §7.1.4.1. An interpretation with 'pleonastic' negation 'no man may reprove God for speaking thus' is unsupported by OED, and involves difficulties with shulde.

In this section, a consideration of the PE parallels to the verbals which are found with 'pleonastic' negation in WSerE ÞAT NE-clauses has given us a further justification beyond simplicity of analysis for characterizing these verbals as 'negative meaning', since most of the PE parallels may occur with a following 'strictly negative' context. It may even be that the occurrence of ÞAT NE can be dealt with in very much these terms, as we shall see in the next section.

7.2.3 A possible restrictive formulation.

7.2.3.1 I would like here to try to provide what is in effect a hypothesis about the grammar of \bar{P} AT NE-clauses in the variety of ME found in Bod 788. Such a hypothesis must be the statement which is most convincingly tailored to the examples found in Bod 788, which makes fewest assumptions about points on which there is no evidence, which seems most reasonable in the light of the situation in other varieties of ME, and which best satisfies criteria of simplicity and naturalness. Discussion of the situation elsewhere in ME is postponed for the following section, §7.2.4, and here we will focus on Bod 788 (with a little reference to other Wyclifite texts) and general linguistic considerations.

Any statement about textual regularities which is more abstract than a list of data is open to a predictive interpretation, though we may deliberately eschew such interpretation. Essentially, in stating (eg) that \bar{P} AT NE has been found in 'double negative' contexts of a certain type, or (in type (c)) after indefinite noun phrases but not after definite ones, the particular descriptive terms chosen to suit a small set of examples are selected on the basis of the 'naturalness' and 'simplicity' of the resulting description: ie descriptive statements are cast in their particular form precisely because it is felt that they might take a place in appropriate grammatical descriptions. We hope that criteria of 'simplicity' and 'naturalness' will give some protection against the incorporation of grammatically fortuitous regularities into our descriptions, as well as helping us to choose between alternative descriptions. The more abstract a descriptive statement becomes,

the more it will look like a grammatical statement (and the nearer we hope it will be to a realistic grammatical statement) rather than a statement of textual regularities. In short, any attempt to make abstract statements (or perhaps even any statement) about textual regularities is open to interpretation as a predictive grammatical statement. We need only a little boldness to seek worthwhile grammatical generalizations: it is not really an activity which differs sharply in kind from the description of the regularities of a text. We must remember, however, that what we say is only a hypothesis; moreover, that it may well treat together phenomena which a more complete grammar would assign to quite different areas of description, so that while a valid generalization from one point of view, its indelicacy may make it in various respects quite unlike an optimal statement. But despite the fact that the status of such a grammatical hypothesis is uncertain, such a statement still seems to be worth attempting.

What worthwhile hypothesis, then, might we make about $\hat{P}AT$ NE-clauses? It will hardly be adequate to characterize them using the notion 'affective context', ie a context which accepts the items listed in §7.2.2 under A (any, ever, etc) or B (give a damn, bat an eye etc), say by suggesting that what is involved is a $\hat{P}AT$ -clause 'affective context' within the scope of a further negation. This would make over wide predictions. It would predict $\hat{P}AT$ NE in positive relative clauses after a negated indefinite head eg I don't like anybody who sings, or in combinations of negated IF-clause with consecutive clause, eg If this topic were not so important that it

needs discussion. But there is no evidence for this, and it is not clear that any simple or natural condition can be tacked on to the notion 'affective context' so that it will isolate just the contexts in which $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ is found.

A second suggestion would be that $\hat{P}AT\ NE$'s distribution is best dealt with in terms of the syntactic configurations involved, as in the description of §7.1. But the different positions and types of negation which 'motivate' $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ (real negation in the subordinate clause, 'negative meaning verb' in the main clause, or real negation in the main clause) must make such an account seem to miss a generalization. Perhaps we need to turn to the notion of 'strictly negative context' developed in the preceding section. The most general characterization would indeed be one which said, in effect, that $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ occurred when a $\hat{P}AT$ -clause which constituted a negative context of some kind occurred within the scope of a further negation. But the 'relative' clauses of type (c) are not 'strictly negative contexts'. What kind of characterization might be suitable?

There are certain environments which may contain the items listed in §7.2.2 under A and B (any, ever etc, give a damn, bat an eye etc) while they reject, or are at least much less natural with 'affirmative polarity' items such as already, far better, pretty well, would rather. I call such environments 'negative polarity contexts', extending the usage of Baker (1970). Simple straightforward negative sentences provide such contexts. Hence, a $\hat{P}AT$ -clause may be a 'negative polarity context' if it contains sentential negation. But it will also typically be a 'negative polarity context' if it is the subject or object of a

'negative meaning' verbal or equivalent NEG + VERB as in types (d) and (e). We need here to appeal generally to rather delicate judgments about such sentences used with 'unmarked intonation': granted this, the sentences are found to be 'less natural' than their positive counterparts, or perhaps we might better say in some cases, contextually sharply restricted by comparison. Examples of such 'less natural' sentences are:

- (ii) *He didn't do pretty well in the exam.
- (iii) ?Mary despairs of doing pretty well in the exam.
- (iv) ?John has prevented Mary from doing pretty well in the exam.
- (v) (?)John denied that he was doing pretty well at university as people seemed to think.

Not all \bar{P} AT NE-clauses have PE parallels which belong here. Thus, for example, NEG + WITE (type (e)) if paralleled by PE don't know that does not reject 'affirmative polarity items', and neither does anybody who:

- (vi) Anyone who does pretty well in the exam ...
- (vii) Paul didn't know that Mary had done pretty well in the exam.

We might call such cases 'polarity neutral', despite Stockwell et al (1973 chapter 5) whose approach implies that the notions 'affective' and 'negative polarity' are identical. Baker (1970) apparently makes the distinction, but does not draw it out.

So far then it seems that the substitution of 'negative polarity context' for 'strictly negative context' has merely produced an alternative way of looking at the same WSerE data without any effectively better coverage of it. But there are in fact two respects in which

this second notion is superior. In §7.2.3.3 below I shall suggest, despite what was said above, that the restricted range of relative clause types which is found with $\hat{P}AT$ NE may in fact be characterized by the notion 'negative polarity context'. But before discussing this topic, I wish first to outline the application of Baker's (1970) notion of 'polarity reversal' in WSerE.

7.2.3.2 Baker (1970) developed the notion 'polarity reversal' to deal with the alternating acceptabilities of items with 'affirmative' and 'negative polarity' as they occur within the scope of yet further negations. As in arithmetic, a negative changes the sign it is combined with, so that an embedded 'negative polarity context' within the scope of a further negative provides an 'affirmative polarity context'. Hence Baker notes that (ii) accepts the 'affirmative polarity' would rather, and is much better than (i) (Baker 1970 p 177).*

- (i) There isn't anyone here who doesn't care to do anything down town.
- (ii) There isn't anyone here who wouldn't rather do something down town.

However, both are grammatical: it is as if the 'strength' of the polarity declines through being reversed. This has the consequence that judgements become more difficult to make. But $\hat{P}AT$ NE seems nearly always to occur in contexts which correspond to 'affirmative polarity' contexts with 'polarity reversal' in PE. This is true for most complement clauses, for consecutive clauses, and for the instances

* Baker (1970) provides two accounts of the general phenomena dealt with here, and rejects the mechanical 'polarity reversal' account for one involving a vague notion of extended 'entailment', (which would also suit many of the WSerE examples). But the important point for us here is that the notion of 'polarity reversal' is adequate to a certain level of delicacy.

of type (c) which have rhetorical question negation and are well rendered by PE 'without'. Other members of type (c) are to be considered in a moment. There are perhaps a few cases of 'polarity neutral' contexts, with NEG + WITE ii.381.29; MUSE i.357.26; HAVE CONSCIENCE ii.282.23; EXCUSE, (REPROVE), and possibly DISPROVE and (AVOIDE), but here PE 'equivalents' vary. We must be very cautious here, despite the apparently good 'fit' between ME and PE, because of the difficulties of making judgements which depend not on a contrast of grammaticality, but on one of greater and less naturalness, cf (iii) and (iv) in particular.

- (iii) ?Let us not believe that they had got pretty far before they were overtaken.
- (iv) Let us not believe that they didn't get pretty far before they were overtaken.
- (v) *John is so thin that he isn't pretty happy.
- (vi) John isn't so thin that he isn't pretty happy.
- (vii) *We'll get home without pretty well killing the horse.
- (viii) We'll not get home without pretty well killing the horse.
- (ix) *Mary knew that John hadn't pretty well finished his thesis.
- (x) *Mary didn't know that John hadn't pretty well finished his thesis.

But granted this, the greater naturalness of (viii) over (vii), (vi) over (v) and (iv) over (iii) shows 'polarity reversal', which is not found in (viii). It may be then that we can say that $\bar{P}AT$ NE generally occurred only in 'affirmative polarity' contexts which had undergone 'polarity reversal'. This would give us a very simple, natural and elegant statement, which would predict the lack of $\bar{P}AT$ NE in a

context with triple negation as in (50), LV 1 Timothy 6.7 and perhaps (53). Here the extra negation again reverses the polarity to give a 'negative polarity context'. It is worth noting that verbs of thinking and believing (ie roughly those found in type (a)) show this 'polarity reversal' feature in PE, whereas (eg) verbs of saying do not, so that we might account for the particular verbs found in type (a).

7.2.3.3 The distribution of $\bar{P}AT\ NE$ in clauses of type (c) as found in the text is rather curious, and it is not really illuminated by a straightforward treatment in terms of syntactic configuration. More 'advanced' syntactic treatments might be devised to reflect the differences in deep phrase structure suggested by these logical notations:

- (81) i.243.7 'Per shal not be a stoon lefte upon a
 stoon, $\bar{p}at\ ne$ it shal be distried.'
- (i) $\sim (\exists x) ((x\ stone) \ \& \ (\sim x\ destroyed))$
- (82) i.200.12 he $\bar{p}at$ traveilip not, shulde not ete ...
- (ii) $(x) ((\sim x\ work) \supset (\sim x\ eat))$

where (i) shows a negation within the 'scope' of another, but (ii) does not, although disregarding the actual predicates involved (i) and (ii) are logically equivalent to one another. But for the moment it seems more illuminating to draw parallels with 'polarity reversal' in PE clause types. I have not investigated the matter in detail, but it is clear that although PE anybody who, nobody who normally introduce a 'polarity neutral' context (or one whose polarity depends simply on a negative within the relative clause), when such indefinites (or negatives) occur in existential sentences, (as also in other

sentence types which parallel type (c)), there is 'polarity reversal', so that the polarity of the subordinate clause is altered by the presence of dominating negatives.

- (iii) (a) ?I can't respect anybody who would lift a finger to help a woman.
(b) I can't respect anybody who won't lift a finger to help a woman.
- (iv) (a) I don't like anybody who can do far better than his father.
(b) ?I don't like anybody who can't do far better than his father.
- (v) (a) I don't like anybody who would rather play billiards than go to church.
(b) ?I don't like anybody who wouldn't rather play billiards than go to church.
- (vi) (a) There isn't anybody who will lift a finger to help a woman.
(b) ?There isn't anybody who won't lift a finger to help a woman.
- (vii) (a) ?There isn't anybody who can do far better than his father.
(b) There isn't anybody who can't do far better than his father.
- (viii) (a) There isn't anybody who would rather play billiards than go to church.
(b) There isn't anybody who wouldn't rather play billiards than go to church.

In general for such sentences, though judgements are not always easy and distinctions of naturalness between (a) and (b) are not always to be made (as with (viii)) it seems that for indefinite head noun phrases in negative existential sentences like (vi)-(viii) judgements accord with 'polarity reversal', but elsewhere (eg with definite

generic head noun phrases) this is not generally the case. However this notion of 'polarity reversal' is ultimately to be captured, it is clear that the distribution of $\bar{\text{PAT}}$ NE in WSerE accords with the generalization that $\bar{\text{PAT}}$ NE occurs in 'affirmative polarity contexts' here too (all PE equivalents show 'polarity reversal', and cf §7.2.1.2, especially the first table and discussion). Indeed, this notion may explain why $\bar{\text{PAT}}$ NE (and perhaps also QUIN in Latin) when 'relative' should occur mainly in such sentences: most other 'relatives' do not provide 'polarity reversal contexts'.

It is, of course, very questionable whether the restrictions on noun phrase head and sentence type in type (c) should be regarded as showing a probably grammatical restriction, or merely a textual regularity due to other (and perhaps fortuitous) factors. But on grounds both of naturalness (motivated by the parallel with PE) and simplicity, it is clearly reasonable to suggest that the restriction is indeed grammatical, despite the thinness of the textual evidence. It is, after all, only by supplementing textual data with such external arguments that we can hope to provide grammatical statements at all. However, the parallels drawn here with PE are difficult in that the judgements are fine, and not always clear-cut, while the area has not been thoroughly investigated by anyone. Consequently, I only wish to speculate that we might simply say: " $\bar{\text{PAT}}$ NE occurs in 'affirmative polarity contexts' whose derivation involves 'polarity reversal'." There is not enough support in the text or general theory to render this speculation more than just that.

7.2.3.4 Before concluding this discussion, one further remark is worth making. No similar examples of fronted NE outside $\bar{\text{PAT}}$ -clauses

are known; the instance of how ne quoted by Einkenkel (1912 p 230) is probably a scribal error as he himself suggests. Thus it may well be that $\bar{P}AT$ NE can simply appear in any $\bar{P}AT$ -clause capable of appearing in an appropriate negative context. Purpose clauses are conspicuous by absence, but negative purpose clauses in negative sentences are uncommon: the only two examples in the sermon corpus are introduced by LESTE i.38.22, ii.57.5 (also ii.404.8); and cf Kent (1890 p 127) who remarks on the infrequency of negative purpose clauses in Chaucer. So there is perhaps no good reason to seek a further refinement of context within $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses.

In conclusion then, we may hypothesise that $\bar{P}AT$ NE-clauses may be characterized by the following statement:

NE may occur after $\bar{P}AT$ (PRONOUN) in a $\bar{P}AT$ -clause which constitutes an embedded 'negative polarity context' when the first S which dominates $\bar{P}AT$ S contains sentential negation in addition to any negation which motivates the 'negative polarity' of $\bar{P}AT$ S.*

Perhaps further research will show that the notion 'negative polarity context' is not quite appropriate, though it seems to hold very generally with a few exceptions and instances where distinctions are neutralized. The examples I know outside the sermons, however, do not all accord with this characterization, cf especially (83) and (85). But for WSerE there is the more exciting possibility that the appropriate generalization will simply be that $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses may contain initial NE when they occur in an 'affirmative polarity context' whose derivation involves 'polarity reversal'.

* This definition is clearly open to reformulation using the concepts 'command' (cf Langacker 1969) or 'clause-mate' (cf this thesis p 57). While this observation helps to support the 'naturalness' of the statement, I have chosen to avoid unnecessary terminology.

7.2.4 \hat{P} AT NE elsewhere in ME.

\hat{P} AT NE-clauses are found in other Wyclifite texts: there are some in Arnold vol iii (1871), Matthew (1880), as well as in both EV and LV. Such examples as I know here all accord with the description given for \hat{P} AT NE in WSerE. Otherwise I know only of the handful of instances given by Eienkel (1912), and one in a Chaucer MS. But no serious search has been made for examples. Eienkel notes four instances in the Biblical version printed by Anna Paues (1904) (Eienkel p 230), and one in Encomium Nominis Iesu (Eienkel p 241 n 1) which he attributed to Rolle, but which J E Wells (1916 chapter XI [58], p 463) suggests may be by Hilton. Of these 6 non-Wyclifite cases, one stands in sharp contrast to the WSerE examples, with \hat{P} AT NE = Latin NE after a positive verb of fearing:

- (83) Biblical Version 195, Acts 27.17 dredande þat ne
 þei schulde falle into sande place: ...
 timentes ne in Syrtim inciderent: ...

(but redundant negation in this position is found elsewhere in ME, cf §7.2.5.1 below). The other 5 all fit the description given for WSerE in §7.1, granted that UNNE \hat{P} ES is a sentential negative, as SCARCELY is in PE. Two are of particular interest: an instance of \hat{P} AT NE in what is possibly a purpose clause occurs in Biblical Version 162, cf §7.2.3.4, but though the Vulgate implies purpose, it could well be type (b),

- (84) Biblical Version 162, Acts 14.17 Ande 3itte whanne þei
 saide þise, unepes myghte þei stille þo companyse
 þat ne þei wolde sacrifice unto hem.
 vix sedaverunt turbas, ne sibi immolarent.

and Biblical Version 178 supplies a possible parallel to type (c) headed by an indefinite noun phrase (cf §7.2.1.2),

- (85) Biblical Version 178, Acts 20.20 ande how I have
 noghte wiþdrawre fro 3owe any profitabul þinge
 þat ne I have schewed unto 3owe, ...
 quomodo nihil subtraxerim utilium, quo minus
 annuntiarem vobis, ...

where though the Latin implies purpose, it has not been so rendered in the ME.

All the occurrences of ÐAT NE I know of, except the Chaucerian, share certain features. They are late 14C or early 15C, all occur in texts where the normal sentential negation, when a particle, is NOT after the verb and where unsupported preverbal NE in this function is unusual, and all occur in texts which have strong associations with Latin: indeed Biblical Version and Encomium Nominis Iesu are rather literal translations, while the vocabulary at least of the sermons and other Wyclifite texts bespeaks a strong Latin influence.* The distribution of ÐAT NE in texts, so far as it is known, is not at odds with the idea that ÐAT NE occurred in prose associated with Latin for a relatively short period of time.

* Encomium Nominis Iesu: ÐAT NE occurs in the e15C Thornton MS, not in the Harley MS. Horstman (1895 vol 1 p 186) characterizes the text as "a verbal translation of the Latin".

Biblical Version: ÐAT NE occurs only in MS C except for Biblical Version 162 which is found in all 4 MSS which contain the passage. Anna Paues (1904) dates MS C (Cambridge University Library Dd.XII.39) to the "latter part of the fourteenth century" (p xiii), and the other 3 MSS to c1400 or later. For the lack of preverbal NE in this text and the Encomium cf Eienkel (1912 pp 230, 240).

Chaucer: St John's College, Cambridge MS G.21 has ÐAT NE in line 26 of Chaucer's ABC. The MS reads:

Doute es þer nane þou quene of mysericorde
 that ne þou erte cause of grace and mercy here

This occurs in a prose translation of Deguillville's Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine which contains the French original of Chaucer's poem. The other 13 MSS do not have this construction (Zupitza 1889 p 411/765). I know nothing about the normal state of sentential negation in this MS.

7.2.5 Related constructions in ME.

7.2.5.0 There are other ME constructions which share interesting points of similarity with certain uses of $\bar{P}AT$ NE. They are (i) the occurrence of 'pleonastic' negation, (ii) clauses which look like relative clauses occurring after a negative noun phrase, but which frequently open with the combination $\bar{P}AT$ + subject personal pronoun, which is unusual in relative clauses in other contexts, and (iii) a parallel distribution of the particle NE as sentence negation in Chaucer. The evidence on which I base remarks about these constructions is patchy (its scope is indicated in the separate sections below), but it is clear that $\bar{P}AT$ NE is not an isolated oddity, but a construction related to similar features in some other varieties of ME.

7.2.5.1 'Pleonastic' negation.

'Pleonastic' negation in the clause after a 'negative meaning verbal' seems to be a widespread feature in both OE and ME.* It occurs in ME $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses after verbs of 'negative meaning', both positive and negative, and also in other $\bar{P}AT$ -clauses where negation is found in the matrix sentence, eg:

* Here I treat 'rhetorical question negation' simply as sentential negation. For OE see Einenkel (1912 pp 206-8), Bacquet (1962 p 503 et seq), Wulfing (1894-01 §427). It occurs (eg) sometimes after verbs like tweogan and with phrases involving tweo sb. 'doubt', and more regularly after verbs of avoiding and forbidding eg forberan 'refrain', oðsacan 'deny', forbeodan 'forbid'.

For ME see the examples in Ancrene Riwe cited by Einenkel (1912 p 213 et seq), for Chaucer by Kent (1890 pp 129-30), Einenkel (1912 p 222 et seq), Robinson (1957), note to Troilus and Criseyde ii.717 (including examples from Lazamon's Brut) and examples from romances, given by Zupitza (1889 p 411/765).

(86) Chaucer: De Cons Phil V. Pr3.203 yif men ne wene nat
that hope ne preieres ne han no strengthis ...

(87) Ipomedon A.7326 I wold not for this towne,
That no man myschef to hym dyde; ...
(quoted from Zupitza 1889 p 411/765)

as well as in other contexts, eg

(88) Chaucer: De Cons Phil III.M11.9 And thanne thilke
thing, that the blake cloude of errour whilom hadde
ycovered, schal lighte more clerly than Phebus
hymself ne schyneth.

All the contexts known to me which contain 'pleonastic' negation are 'affective', in that they pass tests A and B of §7.2.2, with the exception of contexts after DREDE 'fear'. But here there is variation between fear to, fear that and fear lest in PE, and ME correspondingly varies widely as to the presence of a following redundant negation. Other varieties of ME provide general support, then, for the account of PAT NE types (d) and (e) given above, and for the 'restrictive formulation', granted that WSerE differs in always having double negation. Parallels to type (e) are particularly important since WSerE only contains two examples. However, certain questions are raised. One concerns the status of DREDE 'fear'; another concerns the necessary presence of double negation. Einkenkel's examples from Chaucer (supplemented from Tatlock and Kennedy 1927) show DOUTE and DENYE with 'pleonastic' negation only when themselves negated, but 'pleonastic' negation in Chaucer is not restricted to double negative contexts. Since the majority of examples under type (d) in WSerE involves DENYE and verbals of doubting, we may wonder whether PAT NE could have occurred freely after 'negative meaning verbals' when positive. Examples here are almost entirely lacking. FORBEDE and FORFENDE, eg, are not found with a following clause in the corpus, though a

'pleonastic' not occurs after FORBEDE in Matthew (1880) 106.7 (from OED Not, adv and sb, 5.a), quoted above as (55), and perhaps after LETTE in i.154.8; see too þAT NE in Biblical Version 195 after positive DREDE 'fear', quoted above as (83).

One further striking point about the more general use of 'pleonastic' negation in ME, however, implies that it is not unreasonable to suggest a restriction of þAT NE to double negative contexts in WSerE. After negated 'negative meaning verbals', the 'pleonastic' negation is almost invariably unsupported NE. This is true for Alfredian OE, for the ME examples referred to in the note above and for Chaucerian examples beyond these, taken from Tatlock and Kennedy (1927): the only exception, the unChaucerian Romaunt of the Rose 4307 involves DREDE 'fear', (of dubious status as 'negative meaning verb'). When the 'negative meaning verbal' is positive, however, or when the matrix clause contains a single sentential negation and no 'negative meaning verb', other negative words (eg not, no, never, none etc) occur 'pleonastically' in the þAT-clause, fairly commonly in ME and (apparently less frequently) in OE. (For Alfredian OE Bacquet (1962 p 504) implies that 'pleonastic' negation is only ever ne, but Closs (1967) supplies 2 exceptions; each has positive main clause containing a 'negative meaning verb'.) The difference is that between (89) and (90).

- (89) Athelston 765 þere he denyd faste þe kyng,
 þat he made neuere þat lesyng,
 Among hys peres alle.
 (Zupitza 1889)

- (90) Chaucer De Cons Phil III.Pr10.14 But it may nat be
 denyed that thilke good ne is, and that it nys ryght
 as a welle of alle goodes.

In WSerE $\bar{P}AT$ NE is never combined with any other negative words within its clause, and where negative words occur in an apparent $\bar{P}AT$ NE context after a 'negative meaning verbal', real negation is involved, cf (50) and (53). This parallel is striking, and may give us an important clue to the historical development of $\bar{P}AT$ NE.

7.2.5.2 Clauses with $\bar{P}AT$ + subject pronoun.

Type (c), $\bar{P}AT$ NE-clause after negated noun phrase, is paralleled by the use of a clause introduced by $\bar{P}AT$ followed (usually immediately) by a subject personal pronoun referring back to a negative noun phrase. Such clauses are found from OE times.* Examples from Chaucer:

- (91) Cant Tales I.922
For, certes, lord, ther is noon of us alle,
That sche ne hath been a duchesse or a queene.
- (92) De Cons Phil V. Pr.2.9
Ne ther ne was nevere no nature of resoun
that it ne hadde liberte of fre wil.
- (93) De Cons Phil II. Pr.5.6
what is ther in hem ... that it nys fowl ...?

Chaucer also uses relative clauses without subject personal pronoun in such contexts. L R Wilson (1906 §43, cf also §§41,42) notes that relative clauses which have a pleonastic subject personal pronoun occur "occasionally" when something separates $\bar{P}AT$ and pronoun, but are "frequently used" with $\bar{P}AT$ and pronoun in immediate combination in a double negative context of type (c). "The combination that he ne, etc, after negative statements and rhetorical questions, is the equivalent of the modern but, meaning who not." L R Wilson (1906 p 58). The frequent personal pronoun in such contexts serves to

* see Einkenkel (1912 p 224 et seq) for examples from Alfredian OE, Ancrene Riwe and Chaucer; for further Chaucer examples Kent (1890 p 124) and for further ME examples Mustanoja (1960 p 202-3).

separate this type of clause from (other) relative clauses, and provides a remarkable parallel with \bar{P} AT NE-clauses of type (c), which also look very like a kind of relative clause; there are further small similarities which improve the parallel in that there is a kind of 'shading off' into consecutive clauses (as noted between types (b) and (c) in WSerE), that the pronoun need not be subject (though when it is not the structure is much more common as a relative clause in other contexts), and that a negated (distinguish 'negative') noun phrase may be the antecedent:

- (94) Cant Tales X.490
 wel unnethe is ther any synne that it ne
 hath som delyt in itself, ...

This last fact lends some support to an account of \bar{P} AT NE as occurring after indefinite, rather than negative, noun phrases.

There are two further similarities to make the parallel more impressive. In the first place, the negation in such 'relative' clauses is unsupported NE: for Alfredian OE, Ancrene Riwe and Chaucer cf Einkenel (1912 p 224), and for Chaucer, Kent's claim, "In this usage of ne [sc. unsupported NE - AW] CHAUCER is more steadfast than anywhere else; for not a single exception has been found." Kent (1890 p 125). A more impressionistic, but still striking parallel: to judge from the examples supplied by Kent (1890) and Einkenel (1912) the occurrence of BE as finite verb of the main clause is very common (though not exclusive) in this construction, and it is BE without predicate or with temporal/locative predicate which is best represented, as with \bar{P} AT NE. These points of contact show WSerE here as a well integrated variety of ME, differing only (and then not always)

in the position of NE in such clauses, and to that extent we may feel more confidence both in the general description and in the restrictive formulation given above.

7.2.5.3 Distribution of NE as sole negation within its clause.

In Chaucer's English, sentential negation which involves unsupported NE is restricted in distribution. Kent says, "where the preceding sentence is negative the dependent sentence can be negated by ne." (Kent 1890 p 131), meaning 'unsupported NE'. The sentence types which he discusses include the two constructions of the immediately preceding sections §§7.2.5.1 and 2, and 'sentences of result', with which a negative matrix sentence is not required (Kent 1890 §3 p 124).

(95) Troilus III.1323 That is so heigh that al ne kan I
telle!

He does not specifically mention the occurrence of NE in noun clauses with double negation (type (a)), but even without this it seems that in Chaucer's English, sentences corresponding to types (b) (c) (d) (e) prefer NE alone in the subordinate clause (though it is also preferred in other contexts). This provides some additional support to that found in §7.2.5.1 for supposing that a grammatical account of WSerE should deal with PAT NE-clauses in terms of double negation. Kent however also notes that unsupported NE is most commonly found with auxiliaries. It is not clear what importance any correlation here may have for statements about the incidence of NE in the above contexts, but it does not seem likely to be great.

7.2.5.4 Conclusion.

Even the inadequate comparison that it has been possible to make with scattered texts is enough to show that $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE-clauses are paralleled by similar phenomena elsewhere in ME, so that an account of their grammar should prove to be largely shared with that of other varieties of ME, while both the general account and restrictive formulation provided above are plausible viewed from the standpoint of ME as a whole. This plausibility is enhanced by the parallel situation in Middle High German. There not only is 'pleonastic' negation found after 'negative meaning verbals', it is expressed by words such as niht, nieman, nie etc when the main clause is positive, but by ne when the main clause is negative (Paul 1953 §§340,374.1) in a manner analogous to that described in §7.2.5.1, while other double negative contexts similar to those of §§7.2.5.2 and 3 also show simple ne as their negative word in the majority of cases (Paul 1953 §§338, 339,374.2).

A point perhaps best made here, though it depends to some extent on what follows, is that the NE of $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE is best taken to be NE 'not', the normally preverbal particle of sentence negation (OED Ne, adv and conj¹, A adv) rather than NE 'nor', the conjunction (OED Ne, adv and conj¹, B conj).* This identification is required for a simple account of $\hat{\text{PAT}}$ NE's synchronic grammar which seems capable of being easily integrated into any more general ME grammar, as well as for a straightforward account of its development. Einkenkel (1912

* Within ME there is evidence of this distinction on more than merely syntactic grounds. Kent (1890) points out that in Chaucer's verse NE 'nor' often bears the metrical ictus, and is never found elided, whereas NE 'not' must often be elided, and cannot certainly be said ever to bear the metrical ictus.

p 230 et seq) took NE to be the conjunction. He relied on the infrequency of NE as sentence negation in Biblical Version, on the ME tendency to double conjunctions, and a parallel use of NE in Old High German and Old Saxon as evidence for his position, but was forced to suppose an unrecorded use in OE and eME. I provide a much more plausible account below, but perhaps the best evidence for the identification of (PAT)NE and NE 'not' is the series of parallels drawn in this section.

7.2.6 PAT NE and QUIN.

7.2.6.0 The similarity in distribution between PAT NE in WSerE and QUIN (the conjunction) in classical Latin is very striking. (In what follows, 'QUIN' will be understood to refer only to the conjunction). Parallel to the use of PAT NE after negated 'verbs of negative meaning' (type (d)) is the Latin use of QUIN after negated verbs of doubt, 'd'empêchement, d'opposition, de refus, etc.' and other expressions like non multum abest (Ernout et Thomas 1951 §§313,314). The use of PAT NE in a negative consecutive clause after a negative main clause (type (b)), and in a negative clause after a negated noun phrase (type (c)), correspond to similar uses of QUIN (Ernout et Thomas 1951 §§338,343 and cf Woodcock 1959 §187(e): "... it is often ... best translated by 'without' and a verbal noun in 'ing' ..."). In Latin, too, 'rhetorical question negation', or vix 'scarcely' etc are sufficient to negate the main clause. It seems, however, from such grammars as Ernout et Thomas (1951), Roby (1889), and particularly Szantyr (1965), that there is no unrestricted use of QUIN expressing real negation in noun clauses, parallel to PAT NE type (a) (nor,

incidentally, have I found a good parallel to the rarer type (e)). The uses of QUIN here occur with phrases which have a 'caractère ancien et fixé' (Ernout et Thomas 1951 p 264), ie in fixed collocations, such as non possum facere quin ... nulla causa est quin It is not, apparently, a freely available syntactic construction. But apart from this difference, the distribution of $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ in WSerE is very closely paralleled by the distribution of QUIN in classical Latin. Interesting details are the lack of QUIN with a purpose clause, and its occurrence after non ignoro (cf NEG WITE) (Woodcock 1959 §187(b)).

This striking degree of parallelism raises the strong possibility that $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ arose, and was perhaps used, under the influence of QUIN, though we might prefer to assume that forms with conjunction/pronoun + negation in ' $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ -contexts' developed independently in both ME and Latin. Here there seem to be two questions worth raising. I shall deal immediately with the first, and postpone the second until the following section. The first is: "What degree of dependence between $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ and QUIN existed in WSerE?" The second: "Did constructions with $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ depend for their development on QUIN?"

7.2.6.1 The degree of dependence between $\hat{P}AT\ NE$ and QUIN.

Since Vulgate QUIN is not represented in the passages translated in the sermons, and since the handbooks leave the status of QUIN in Medieval Latin quite open, stating that it fell into disuse in the late antique period when it occurred very restrictedly except in imitation of classical usage (as in Boethius' De Cons Phil) (eg Szantyr 1965 p 679), it seemed necessary to investigate some fourteenth century Latin, to see whether QUIN occurred, and with what kind of distribution and frequency. To that end I read, in particular,

Wyclif's De Officio Pastoralis (Lechler 1863), intending also to compare the English version of the tract with the Latin. Briefly: in this text QUIN occurs frequently (30 times in some 50 pages), and it occurs in constructions which parallel those with PAT NE. It is not clear that QUIN occurs more freely here in type (a) than in classical Latin, since two of the three examples involve the collocation non tamen video quin, and the third is an exception (the only one) to the parallelism in that it does not show double negation:

(95) De Off Past 44.24 et difficile videtur quin erret, ...
'and it seems difficult for him not to go astray'

(96) De Off Past 30.7 Non tamen video, quin eadem simplex
persona posset licite habere multa beneficia moderata,
sic tamen quod remaneat fidelis seruus domini ...
'However I do not see that the same individual cannot,
nevertheless, have many moderate benefices, provided
he remains a faithful servant of the Lord ...'

Elsewhere in Wyclif's Latin Works I have noted two constructions with nec est ratio ... quin ... 'the reason is not ... that ... not ...' (Opera Minora, Loserth 1913: 112.31, 116.8), and nec video quod 'I do not see that ...' (Opera Minora 306.5), beside nec video quin 'I do not see that ... not ...'. Perhaps the use of QUIN in sentences of type (a) will turn out to be collocationally restricted, as in classical Latin: it is certainly not without exception, cf non mirum est quod non ... (Opera Minora 289.19). The use of QUIN in type (b) (uncommon in classical Latin), and type (d) is well attested, especially type (d) with NEG + dubitare quin and non/nec dubium quin. But the existence of type (c) is not clear. The construction nemo/nullus ... nisi is frequent in such constructions as (97):

- (97) De Off Past 35.35 Et certum est ex fide, quod nemo potest venire ad patriam, nisi fuerit Christi discipulus, ...
'And it is certain from faith that no-one can come to heaven, unless he has been a disciple of Christ.'

and the only possible example I have come across is (98) and this example is rather parallel to the use of $\bar{P}AT NE$ quoted as (21).

- (98) De Off Past 41.14 Similiter nullus curatus potest deo satisfacere per vicarium, quin ipsemet in persona propria portabit peccatum ...
'In the same way, no curate can satisfy God through a vicar without himself incurring sin in his own person ...'

We may conclude that Wyclif's Latin shows a range of constructions for QUIN which is remarkably similar to that of $\bar{P}AT NE$ in WSerE, although type (a) may be collocationally restricted, and types (c) and (e) have not been evidenced in a small sample. The great bulk of instances belong to type (d) and are precisely parallel to examples with $\bar{P}AT NE$. Exceptions like the following, and the example with difficile quoted above, may argue for a distribution of QUIN outside double negative contexts, and for some element of choice or variety restriction in its use. But we may probably suppose (not unreasonably granted similar uses of QUIN elsewhere in Wyclif's Latin works) that the Latin of De Officio Pastoralis was typical of (a variety of) fourteenth century Latin, in showing a distribution of QUIN quite remarkably like that of $\bar{P}AT NE$ in WSerE.

- (99) Opera Minora 295.22/23 patet quod de clero sunt pauci, qui non sunt scandalizati in domino Jesu Christo.
'It is clear that there are few among the clergy who have not been made to stumble in the Lord Jesus Christ.'

Since this type of Latin must have been likely to influence WSerE, the possibility that $\bar{P}AT NE$ depended on QUIN becomes much more real. The direction of dependence may, of course, have been the other way:

†PAT NE may have appeared independently in English and led to a revival of Latin QUIN. Without more investigation of mediaeval Latin we cannot reject this possibility. But a far more reasonable assumption, for the present, is that it was the presence of QUIN which influenced †PAT NE. We can, I think, begin to see what kind of influence this was by considering the following facts.

(a) In the sermons †PAT NE occurs 5 times when a Vulgate passage is being rendered (excluding i.25.9 = (28)). It 4 times translates Qui non or Quod non, once a present participle (i.192.14 = (30)). This argues against †PAT NE being felt to be closely tied to QUIN as its translation.

(b) Moreover, in WSerE †PAT NE occurs with apparent freedom, with few exceptions, and throughout the text. Unless we are to believe that the sermons as a whole are translated, it would seem unlikely that †PAT NE is merely a translation rendering of QUIN.

(c) QUIN (as a conjunction) occurs in the Vulgate six times only. In LV it is invariably rendered that ne, in EV variously that ne, that, but. It also occurs in LV to render a relative clause in Matt 24.2 (the only instance of †PAT NE in WBib Gospels). The redactors clearly used †PAT NE to render QUIN, but were willing to use it at least once otherwise, in exact translation.

(d) The use of †PAT NE in the English tract De Officio Pastoralis (Matthew 1880 p 405) argues that †PAT NE was natural usage in (some varieties of) ME. Let me expand this apparently surprising remark. I had hoped in reading De Officio Pastoralis in Latin to find correspondences between QUIN and †PAT NE, hence the choice of that particular text. But despite Margaret Deanesly's words, "This is a fairly close

translation" (sc. of the Latin) (M Deanesly 1920 p 378), and Herbert Winn's opinion that the English "De Officio Pastoralis is, in most of its chapters, a fairly close paraphrase." (H E Winn 1929 p xxx), the relationship between English and Latin is far from close in matters of detail. The English sometimes supplies a rough paraphrase with verbal echoes and snippets of translation, besides handling much of the Latin's subject matter in the same general order of progression, but it is often quite free, and unrelated to the Latin. In general it impresses one as a popular exposition of much of what the Latin text contains, made by someone who followed the general outline of the Latin and sometimes its phraseology, but had no intention to paraphrase, much less to translate. Of the 7 PAT NE found in the English tract only one is related to the Latin text: and this will incidentally provide an example of the kind of interrelationship often found between the texts:

- (100) Matthew (1880) 431.35 but for crist & hise
apostlis weren fewe & lyveden on litil almes,
y can-not se bi goddis lawe þat ne dymes may
be partid among cristis pore men, ...
- (101) De Off Past 23/24 Et quia visum est sapientibus,
quod tertia pars ecclesie, que subministraret
presbiteris, facilius posset servire illis decimis,
ideo sunt illis oblationes et decime limitate. Non
tamen video quin cuncti clerici debent secundum
regulam apostoli de alimentis et tegumentis,
quomodocunque iuste venerint, contentari, et
decime debent prudenter pauperibus impertiri.

We have no evidence that another, different Latin version of De Officio Pastoralis underlies the ME version;* hence it seems likely that PAT

* Such a version is possible. Two Latin treatments of some subjects were issued: a long treatise addressed to scholars, and a shorter work addressed to a less scholarly audience (cf H E Winn 1929 p xxx). But this hardly allows us to suppose a version here corresponding more adequately to the English without further evidence.

NE was used freely, without being regarded as a mere equivalent to QUIN. A similar point can be made from other Wyclifite tracts which exist in Latin versions; such \dot{P} AT NE as occur in them are independent of QUIN.*

(e) As discussed above in §7.2.4, \dot{P} AT NE seems to be found mainly in prose texts which are associated with Latin.

These points are highly suggestive. Though \dot{P} AT NE is used to translate QUIN, it is also used to translate Latin relative clauses, (even in WBib), and it seems to occur in English texts where there is no reason to suppose any overt relationship with QUIN. But the English texts are not fully independent of Latin. It is almost as if \dot{P} AT NE is found in a variety of ME which has close contacts with Latin, perhaps in the usage (?speech) of some scholars, or bilinguals, but was used with freedom within that variety. The regularity of \dot{P} AT NE in WSerE may indeed indicate that it was a salient feature within its variety. We can dismiss with confidence the extreme view that \dot{P} AT NE is merely translation idiom, but may (for the moment) think it unlikely to be independent of Latinity, granted the texts in which it is known to appear. But further research may change the picture here. For the moment the most plausible tentative account of \dot{P} AT NE would seem to be that outlined above: that it occurs freely within a Latin-conscious variety of ME.

* I have checked through those English works generally regarded as being (in some degree) translations, and their Latin counterparts, for instances of QUIN and \dot{P} AT NE in correspondence. There are none. These (mainly short) works yield only 5 examples of \dot{P} AT NE, but dependence on Latin cannot be shown for them. The works involved are: Letter to Pope Urban (iii.504), Five Questions on Love (iii.183), A Petition to the King and Parliament (iii.507), The Church and her Members (iii.338), De Pontificum Romanorum Schismate (iii.242), The 12 Conclusions of the Lollards (EHR 22 (1907) p 292), Simonists and Apostates (iii.211), On the 25 Articles (iii.454), The 37 Conclusions of the Lollards (EHR 26 (1911) p 738).

It may seem possible that Latin NE and QUOMINUS influenced ¹PAT NE: ¹PAT NE = NE in Biblical Version 162, 195 = (84) (83), QUOMINUS in Biblical Version 178 = (85) (twice) (cf §7.2.4); Chaucer used redundant negation when rendering QUOMINUS in Boethius' De Cons Phil. But no QUOMINUS was noted in De Officio Pastoralis, and the usage with NE seems rather remote: their distributions in Classical Latin are unlike that of QUIN.

7.2.7 The historical development of ¹PAT NE.

During the fourteenth century NE 'not' was being lost. Indeed in the texts which show ¹PAT NE other instances of NE 'not' as sentential negative are unusual, and unsupported NE 'not' is rare. That this tendency to reduce NE 'not' extended also to ¹PAT NE-contexts may be seen from Guy of Warwick 1301 and the examples cited in Zupitza's note (1875 p 368), including Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde i.456 (and cf the note in Robinson 1957), Sir Gawain and the Green Knight 726 (where N Davis (1967) silently emends MS was to nas); and

St Gregory 709 ¹Per nis non so dern dede
 ¹Pat sum tyme it schal be sene; ...
 (quoted from Zupitza 1875)

The use (or, perhaps, spread) of BUT as a conjunction introducing noun clauses in ¹PAT NE-contexts * in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries may be interpreted as showing that the tendency to reduce NE

* For the rise of BUT in this sense cf OED But, C. conj. II *** 'With general sense 'that not' L. quin. After negative and questioning constructions', and II **** 'After various verbs in negative or interrogative construction, with same general sense as in prec. series', and MED but conj. 3. BUT occurs from eME meaning 'except that', 'if not, unless', and from the late fourteenth century plentifully in ¹PAT NE-contexts to mean 'that ... not', or replacing redundant negation. Earlier examples of this sense seem to be rare (H Rood 16/8 Lazamon. Cal.4146 both in MED 3.(a)) and it is probably better to suppose that these are really extensions of basic adverbial-clause usages, as is possible. The 'early' example under OED But, C. conj. 21 is from the Trinity MS of Cursor Mundi which is early fifteenth century; it is not in the other 3 published MSS.

led to systemic pressure for an alternative to the distinctive $\hat{P}AT \dots$ NE which occurred in ME (or, in at least some varieties of ME) after 'negative meaning verbals' and in type (c) (cf §§ 7.2.5.1 and 2), and perhaps more widely in other $\hat{P}AT$ NE-contexts (cf § 7.2.5.3 for evidence from Chaucer). This seems a very reasonable interpretation of the change. It permits us, moreover, to see the appearance of $\hat{P}AT$ NE as a response to the same pressure. Such an interpretation copes very adequately with the fact that BUT and $\hat{P}AT$ NE appear in what on an indelicate analysis is an identical range of contexts at very much the same time, though BUT is perhaps rather later in type (c), and goes on to occur more widely than $\hat{P}AT$ NE is attested.

Granted pressure to replace $\hat{P}AT \dots$ NE with a distinctive form (rather than with $\hat{P}AT$ or $\hat{P}AT \dots NOT$), why $\hat{P}AT$ NE? Clearly it may provide a context in which NE, no longer standing before the verb, might be protected from phonological loss, but this is rather a reason for continued survival once a variant has become weakly established. Why should $\hat{P}AT$ NE have arisen in the first place? Parallels with negation at the front of a clause are not impressive. The only serious contender with 'sporadic error' as a source for $\hat{P}AT$ NE is QUIN, which occurs in closely parallel constructions in fourteenth century Latin. We might suppose that ME (in some varieties) developed a preference for the use of unsupported NE in $\hat{P}AT$ NE-contexts, while Mediaeval Latin (perhaps quite independently) had QUIN in such contexts (cf the situation in Middle High German mentioned in § 7.2.5.4). When the distinctive status of $\hat{P}AT \dots$ NE came into conflict with the tendency to remove preverbal NE, a remedy was at hand for varieties of ME which were closely associated with Latin. The form $\hat{P}AT$ NE could be evolved

as a calque upon the form of QUIN. This has the happy consequence of making the restriction of PAT NE to Latin-influenced works seem motivated, although PAT NE is not (synchronically) directly associated with QUIN. Whether the construction PAT NE is an instance of subconscious bilingual interference, or whether it originated as a deliberate formation is quite undecidable. Possibly the form seemed to mark writer (and speaker?) as learned, and the eventual generalization of BUT in favour of PAT NE may have as much to do with the fact that PAT NE was restricted to Latin-associated ME as to the (presumed) better integration of the extended use of BUT into the grammar of ME.

We may tentatively suggest that the history of PAT NE is as follows:

1 $\text{PAT} \dots (\text{unsupported}) \text{NE}$ occurs distinctively in PAT NE -contexts. As NE declines in frequency, this construction becomes isolated.

2 The tendency to remove NE leads to pressure to replace $\text{PAT} \dots (\text{unsupported}) \text{NE}$ with something else. PAT is not distinctive. Many varieties of ME choose BUT (or $\text{PAT} \dots \text{NOT}$). But there is a close parallel between constructions with $\text{PAT} \dots (\text{unsupported}) \text{NE}$ and constructions with QUIN, so varieties of ME which are 'close to' Latin adopt PAT NE , whose form is modelled on that of QUIN. But the constructions in which PAT NE appears are not selected because of Latin, and PAT NE occurs as a response to internal pressure. Hence PAT NE appears in texts where NE is otherwise unusual.

3 BUT and PAT NE are in competition from the start, and BUT wins, probably during the fifteenth century, perhaps because it was better integrated within the grammar of English, perhaps because PAT NE remained variety-restricted (possibly as a sociolinguistic marker).

This outline sketch of a possible history for PAT NE depends on the support of a scattered range of texts, principally Chaucer. If we may assume that this evidence is typical (in the required respects) of (some varieties of) ME, and that this kind of ME was historically antecedent to WSerE, then we can construct a coherent account of the development of PAT NE and BUT which can cope with facts like the isolated status of NE 'not' in PAT NE texts, the restricted range of PAT NE texts, and the simultaneous appearance of PAT NE and BUT in PAT NE-contexts. But it must be clearly recognized that this sketch is 'speculative' (though responsible) and that much further research in the area is needed.

7.2.8 Transformational formulation of the grammar of PAT NE.

7.2.8.1 Here there are many problems. The principle difficulty is perhaps the wide variety of formulations available within TG and the lack of evidence available for deciding between them. However, some progress towards a characterization of an appropriate answer can be made. But perhaps the significance of this section lies in that it provides a measure of justification in practice for any serious attempt to write partial transformational grammars for ME.

An initial problem is the deep structure status of 'pleonastic' negation. Klima (1964) evolved an analysis for PE in which verbs like DENY had a deep structure NEG in S₂ which was later 'absorbed' by the

'negative meaning verb'. This dealt neatly with the grammaticality of UNTIL + time adverbial in (i), but wrongly predicted the grammaticality of (ii), granted that UNTIL + time adverbial can only occur in a clause which contains NEG in deep structure, and modifies cast off.

- (i) Paul denied that John had cast off until after the tide turned.
- (ii) Paul didn't deny that John had cast off until after the tide turned.

Since syntactic support for a deep structure NEG in clauses subordinate to 'negative meaning verbs' is poor, and since both PE and ME can have real negation in a clause subordinate to a negated 'negative meaning verb', the simplest analysis for WSerE will involve not 'pleonastic' deep structure NEG after DENYE etc, but a rule lowering NEG into a positive S_2 from a 'negative meaning verb' which is negated (and more freely in other dialects). Though this is both simplistic and ad hoc, more sophisticated analyses are not worth pursuing without more data, and there is a little support for the treatment in the failure of 'pleonastic' NE to appear in conjoined subordinate PAT-clauses, both in WSerE and (sometimes at least) in Chaucer. There may be problems here with the 'universal' proposed in Chomsky (1965 p 146), that nothing can be inserted into a dependent S after the cycle on that S. But nothing constructive can be said on this at present. For the moment I assume that 'pleonastic' NEG is present before other relevant rules operate, and suggest an early (??precyclic) rule of NEG-LOWERING to cope with it. Other rules may be needed for type (e), but again, the matter is not worth pursuing.

There are two straightforward analyses of PAT NE; others are possible, but 2 candidates are outstanding. They are dealt with in

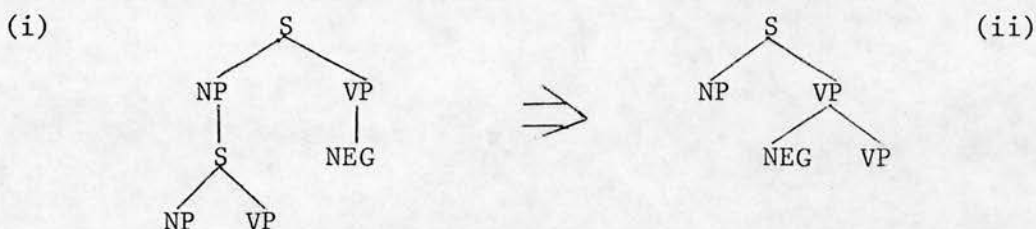
detail below in §§7.2.8.2 and 3. The first contains a rule of PAT NE-FORMATION, which represents an additional complexity as compared with grammars lacking such a rule; the second analysis generates PAT NE by generalizing a condition which must appear in grammars of ME anyway, and may therefore make PAT NE seem the result of a simplification. The framework of each analysis depends on more general ME considerations; sentential negation must appear directly before VP at some stage so that NOT-HOPPING (to retain a familiar name) may generate NE V NOT and V NOT beside NE V for ME; NEG-INCORPORATION (which incorporates sentential negation into words like anything , etc to give nothing , etc) must appear in any ME grammar, and so too must some condition on the application of these two rules within PAT NE-contexts, both for WSerE and the varieties noted in §7.2.4. If we disregard what was suggested about 'polarity contexts' in §7.2.3, we can formulate this condition in terms of syntactic configuration. But it is easier to set up the condition tentatively as follows:

condition: NOT-HOPPING and NEG-INCORPORATION fail when NEG occurs within an 'affirmative polarity context'.

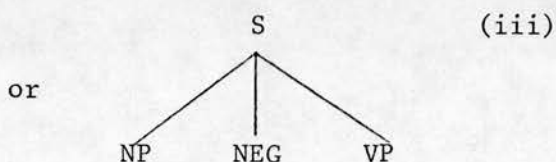
An inadequacy of both these analyses is that the 'pleonastic' negation of type (e) has not been dealt with. To do so would raise many unanswerable questions.

7.2.8.2 First analysis.

The simplest analysis of sentential negation for PE and presumably for ME involves taking NEG as the deep structure verb phrase of a higher S, and placing it before VP by RAISING.

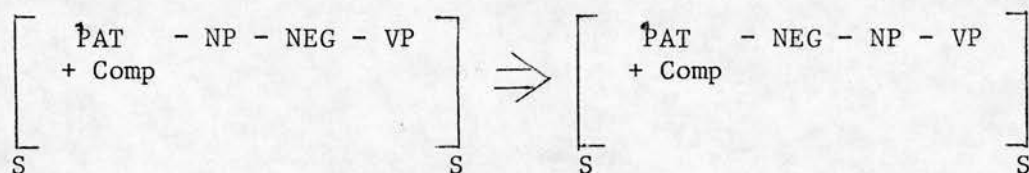


RAISING



(The suggested early rule of NEG-LOWERING may be formulated as giving for S_2 (by Chomsky-adjunction) a tree like (i) which lacks the NP node dominating S.) Such an analysis will require a rule of $\bar{P}AT$ NE-FORMATION for WSerE, since a solution in terms of a failure of RAISING (granted reordering, or verb-first deep structure order) will give very unnatural conditions for the $\bar{P}AT$ NE PRONOUN ~ $\bar{P}AT$ PRONOUN NE alternation.

$\bar{P}AT$ NE-FORMATION



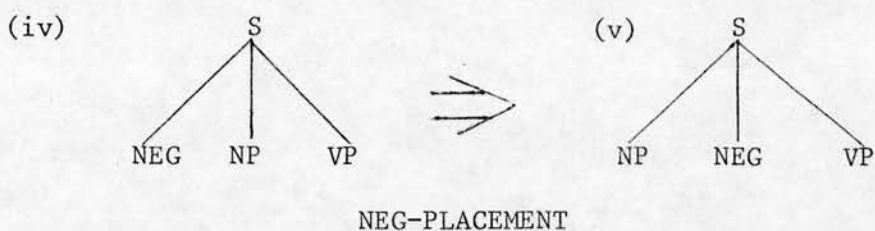
Condition: S provides an 'embedded negative polarity context', and additionally both commands and is commanded by NEG. (Or, perhaps: NEG occurs within an 'affirmative polarity context'. A less elegant formulation avoiding altogether the notion 'polarity context' is also possible.)

The rule is obligatory, unless NP is PRONOUN in which case it is optional. It will have to be reformulated (with X for NP) if it is late because both TOPICALIZATION and SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION occur in PAT NE-clauses. The more general ME condition on NOT-HOPPING and NEG-INCORPORATION will also be required here, whatever the rule-ordering.

This formulation effectively says: a variety which contains PAT NE will be more complex than one without it, by virtue of having an extra rule. This sorts well with the idea that PAT NE was introduced as a calque on QUIN: the change would be expressed as the addition of the rule above. And since the grammar of PAT NE-varieties will be more complex, the eventual domination of BUT, and the possibly variety-restricted nature of PAT NE, can perhaps be given reasonable treatment. However, there is a possible source of difficulty in the naturalness of the optionality condition: thus PE PARTICLE MOVEMENT is normally formulated so that a pronoun provides less of a barrier to movement than a noun phrase: the reverse is suggested here.

7.2.8.3 Second analysis.

Under this analysis, which adopts essentially the treatment of Klima (1964), NEG stands S-initial in deep structure and is moved to preverbal position by a special rule, NEG-PLACEMENT. The major disadvantages of this analysis are that there is no good motivation for S-initial NEG in PE (cf Stockwell et al 1973 p 261 et seq), and the rule of NEG-PLACEMENT is a complexity only required because of this position.



From a theoretical point of view, Analysis 1 is much preferable. Since deep structure S-initial NEG is not well motivated in PE, Klima's analysis cannot be used to support the 'naturalness' of PAT NE in ME: any such 'explanation' of the form PAT NE would be bogus. Within Klima's general framework, the simplest treatment of PAT NE is achieved by placing a condition on NEG-PLACEMENT: NEG-PLACEMENT fails over a noun phrase and is optional over a pronoun, if the S which dominates its domain both commands and is commanded by NEG (or perhaps if NEG occurs within an 'affirmative polarity context'. There is also a less elegant formulation in configurational terms). Under this condition a noun phrase provides more of a barrier to movement than a pronoun, which seems 'natural'. Moreover, it will probably be possible to treat the condition as an extension of the general ME condition on NOT-HOPPING and NEG-INCORPORATION. Perhaps we could write (confining ourselves to the most elegant formulation):

Condition: All NEG-movement rules are weakened in an 'affirmative polarity' context.

The 'weakening' would result in the failure of NOT-HOPPING, NEG-INCORPORATION and NEG-PLACEMENT, except that NEG-PLACEMENT would remain optional over a pronoun. Unless we make the generalization of this condition 'expensive', which seems a priori rather unreasonable, this analysis treats PAT NE as the result of a straightforward simplification

of general ME grammar. It would be quite unnecessary to attribute any serious amount of influence to QUIN, and it would perhaps become difficult to see why PAT NE should apparently be both restricted in range of texts and short-lived in time.

7.2.8.4 Conclusion.

It is difficult to choose between these analyses except rather simple mindedly; and then the first analysis is clearly better, both on theoretical grounds and because of 'what it says'. The second analysis, while very interesting, appears to make PAT NE too natural to ME. But the matter is not, of course, decided, and much of the point of this lengthy exercise in transformational analysis has been not to justify any particular decision, but to show that a willingness to use rather indirect evidence can give us the means to take some steps towards comparing and evaluating alternatives which are not just ad hoc. In order to do this seriously for ME, it is clear that we must not only use whatever evidence for PE is relevant (eg about 'affective' contexts, or 'negative polarity'), but must also work within a diachronic framework of related varieties. It is a view of ME as a group of historically-related varieties which justifies talk of a NOT-HOPPING transformation for WSerE, or enables us to judge that the second analysis depends on a generalization, is essentially simple, and is therefore a less suitable statement than the more complex first analysis. We cannot make serious progress if we attempt to deal with the regularities of a text in vacuo.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a reasonably full account of $\dot{P}AT$ NE-clauses in the Wyclifite sermons, giving an account of their distribution, a reasonable hypothesis about their syntax and semantics based on a comparison with PE, a brief account of related constructions elsewhere in ME, and an account of their relationship with Wyclif's mediaeval Latin besides a historical sketch and a transformational formulation of their grammar. The different parts of this survey generally support one another, so that we may feel fairly confident that the picture given is a realistic one. I will briefly summarize the major findings.

Clauses headed by $\dot{P}AT$ NE occur regularly in WSerE in contexts containing two negatives, where 'rhetorical question negation' and 'negative meaning words' are included as negatives. Complement clauses, clauses of consequence, and clauses after a negated NP are headed by $\dot{P}AT$ NE when they are negative and occur within the scope of a main clause negative; $\dot{P}AT$ NE also appears with NE of 'pleonastic' negation when within the scope of a main clause negative if a further negative occurs within the matrix sentence.

The construction is remarkably regular. In complement and consecutive clauses it is practically exceptionless, while comparison with related constructions (in particular BUT 3IF-clauses) shows that after a negated NP it especially favours existential BE and a negative NP except when rendering the Vulgate. This distribution can perhaps be characterized as occurrence where a clause with 'negative polarity' has been switched to 'affirmative polarity' by embedding within a

further negation, or so comparison with PE would imply. It is clear that \bar{P} AT NE-clauses share certain features with other ME (and MHG) constructions: the occurrence of 'pleonastic' negation elsewhere, and of 'relative' clauses containing a subject pronoun in a double negative context are striking parallels, as is the typical restriction of negation (both real and 'pleonastic') to unsupported NE in a range of double negative contexts. It is easy to see how structural pressure to maintain the distinctness of this unsupported NE in the face of its phonological loss led both to the adoption of BUT and of \bar{P} AT NE as clause initial elements. \bar{P} AT NE must clearly be influenced by the form of Latin QUIN, which has closely parallel uses in the Latin of Wyclif's De Officio Pastoralis: indeed \bar{P} AT NE seems to occur only in Latin-related forms of English for a period of time c1400. It is however not merely a calque, but is freely available in this form of English. Its historical development has left a residue in the shape of the alternation \bar{P} AT NE PRONOUN ~ \bar{P} AT PRONOUN NE which a partial MS collation shows to have been in free variation for at least some scribes. Its grammar may be best formulated syntactically as the addition of a rule which places NE clause-initial under specified conditions, thus adding to the complexity of the form of English in which it occurs, which helps to account for its later loss.

In this discussion of \bar{P} AT NE two areas are of particular interest: the establishment of a hypothesis about the syntax and semantics of \bar{P} AT NE, and the demonstration of the relationship between English structural pressure and the influence of Latin.

8.0 Introduction

8.0.0 This chapter is only intended to provide a brief account of deverbal nouns in -ING. Such a brief account has a place in a work on complement sentences in WSerE, both in answer to the question whether -ING is a complementizer (as has often been claimed for PE), and because of the value for histories of English of a description including the ancestor of a type later closely related to the complement system if not part of it. We find that in the corpus the form VERBING behaves like a noun. It occurs as the head of a phrase which (almost invariably) shows nominal rection, and which is distributed like other noun phrases. It is especially interesting that the number of cases which, apart from an initial possessive, show unmixed distinctively verbal rection (in particular a direct object not preceded by a preposition) is very small, since some examples with verbal rection which are not merely directly dependent on Latin are found a good deal earlier cf Visser II §1123. The interpretation and assessment of such examples is difficult (cf the debates reviewed in Mustanoja 1960 p 566 et seq), but Mustanoja regards verbal rection as an established possibility after the mid thirteenth century (1960 p 572, agreeing with Einkenkel 1914) while OED -ing¹, 2 refers its establishment to the fourteenth century and remarks that it is very frequent in EV. In WSerE, however, verbal rection seems to have been very restricted in actual usage, as Emonds (1973) found for Chaucer's Parson's Tale, to the point indeed

where one must wonder what the grammatical range and status of such constructions really was.

8.0.1 VERBING in PE.

In PE we may distinguish firstly between 'verbal substantive' and 'gerund' (to adopt the terminology of OED -ing¹) where the verbal substantive has nominal rection, and the gerund has verbal rection. Thus the gerund may take a direct object, be accompanied by auxiliaries and adverbs and have a subject in either the genitive or the unmarked case, while the verbal substantive must take OF or another preposition before a following NP, may not be accompanied by auxiliaries, must take adjectives and not adverbs and must be preceded by a determiner or a genitive NP. The distinction is that between (1) and (2).

(1) His rapid drawing of the picture fascinated me.

(2) His drawing the picture rapidly fascinated me.

Within each of these categories further distinctions may be drawn, after the treatment of Lees (1960a p 64 et seq). Verbal substantives may be subdivided into 'concrete nominals' and 'action nominals'.

Lees (1960a) drew the distinction with these examples:

(3) His drawing fascinated me because he always did it
lefthanded.

(4) His drawing fascinated me because it was so large.

Action nominals are semantically transparent verbal derivatives referring to acts, actions, activities and events, whereas concrete nominals are not transparent. In practice this is not always an easy distinction to draw. We may also divide the gerund into 'fact gerunds' which have a subject and which encapsulate facts, and

'subjectless gerunds' which may refer to an activity or a state and which do not always permit aspectual auxiliaries. Lees' example of a 'fact gerund' to parallel those above was:

- (5) His drawing fascinated me because I didn't know he
could be persuaded so easily.

and 'subjectless gerunds' are:

- (6) Being miserable is bad for your health.
(7) Having broad country estates is a burden.
(8) After being miserable for a long time John fell ill.

This four-way distinction as drawn by Lees however is not always clear cut in practice. The dividing line between 'facts' and 'actions' is not always sharp either in use or intuition, and the distinction may be neutralized. Thus I find (9) grammatical despite the fact that the VERBING phrase refers to a state, and (10) without OF seems a more adequate way of referring straightforwardly to John's act.

- (9) Your having broad country estates must be burdensome/great
fun/very tiring.
(10) John's mowing (of) the lawn won't do him any good, his
father is quite determined to beat him.

In what follows the main topics considered involve aspects of the grammar of VERBING in WSerE which I do not feel would be illuminated by a survey of the various analyses of PE VERBING proposed within transformational grammar. Consequently no survey of the literature on PE, or analysis of PE VERBING will be offered as a preliminary, beyond what has been briefly given above.

8.0.2 In this chapter, which is based on the sermon corpus and a few additional examples, I first describe the internal structure of the nominal VERBING phrase (§8.1), and its distribution in the corpus (§8.2), and then move on to consider other aspects of its grammar and semantics (§8.3), in particular whether there is a syntactic distinction between types of VERBING, what the status of any distinction may be, and in what contexts it appears, and also in part these questions: how it might be generated and what its semantic range is. This account deals only with semantically transparent deverbal -ING nominals. The participial VERBING phrase is not considered, and 'concrete nominals' have not been included since it seemed important to isolate the semantically transparent instances of VERBING for description. This has, however, been done rather generously so that some actual concrete instances may have been included here. If in context a reference to the verbal action, process, activity, event, state or fact of occurrence seemed likely, then the VERBING was accepted as an 'action nominal'. Where such reference was not involved, or where there is no corresponding verb, VERBING is taken to be 'concrete' (ie not transparent semantically, whether abstract or not). Concrete instances occur for example with: BIDDING 'order'; BRITEYSING 'parapet'; CLOPING; KNOWING 'knowledge'; PLANTING 'cutting, young plant'; UNDIRSTONDING 'interpretation, intellect'; WYNNYNG 'profit'; and in the three instances in:

- (11) i.172.1 Þis gospel telliþ sharpli, as Crist doip
 ofte bi Joon, how men shulden love togidere and
 putte awei þe lettingis, for þe bigynnyng and þe
 eendinge of Goddis lawe is love.

8.1 The Internal Structure of the VERBING Phrase

VERBING appears within a noun phrase structure. It is found preceded by determiners, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, nouns or pronouns in the genitive and at least once by an adverb; it has number contrast; it occurs followed by an adverb, by various prepositional phrases, by ¹PAT-clause or TO VP as dependent complement structures, by TO VP in adverbial relation, and by a ¹PAT-clause as relative clause. There are one or two other possibilities (eg a simple preposed object, and cf (36)) discussed below, but the majority of the adjuncts, all of which are optional, may be summarized as here:

<u>þe</u> <u>þis</u> <u>þat</u>	- numeral	- VERBING(<u>is</u>)	- adverb	- <u>of</u> NP	- PP	- PP
<u>a</u> <u>ech</u> <u>ony</u>	- adjective			P NP		¹ PAT S
<u>sich</u> (etc)						
NP <u>is</u> (gen)						TO VP
<u>his</u> (etc)						

Thus, VERBING may stand alone, singular or plural,

- (12) i.200.26 and as þe wolf wip 3oulinge makip sheep
to flokke for drede, so prelatis bi cursinges
maken men to gadere hem and 3yve þese prelatis
goodis ...

and it may occur with NPs which would stand in the subject or object relation to the simple verb. These relations may be neutralized and cannot always be distinguished. OF NP may represent the subject, and it always follows VERBING immediately in the corpus, but there is at any rate one exception to this order elsewhere, in (15).

- (13) ii.259.6 ¹Pe stable standing of þis see figuride þe
stablernes of Cristis godhede; ...

- (14) i.200.1 And here is begginge of prechours forfendid
of God, siþ it is an hid sillinge of prechinge of
Goddis word.
- (15) i.121.15 and steinyng in to þe hille of Jesus wiþ
his disciplis is takynge of goostly lyf for to
lerne Cristis lawe.

The subject may also appear as a preceding genitive NP or pronoun,

- (16) i.34.27 Cristis wendinge in to þe castel bitokeneþ
his litil Chirche, ...
- (17) i.173.5 it were þe beste ensauple þat þou shuldist
have to suffre, and to cese þi grutching; ...

and there is a possible common case instance outside the corpus in
the fairly frequent ME collocation at þe sunne rysynge (i.131.21)

Mark 16.2 orto jam sole (not Matthew as the chapter heading claims).

The object, typically when a noun phrase but also as a pronoun,
is generally found after VERBING preceded by the preposition appropriate to VERB, or by OF if there is none. But OF NP need not represent subject or object, cf (21), (22). The object also occurs before VERBING as a genitive pronoun or noun. Nouns here are uncommon in ME, cf Visser II §1105; in WSerE I know the example below, (25), and a possible corpus example; see too the discussion of preposed objects which follows.

- (18) i.38.17 for breking of þis heste brekiþ þe ten
comandmentis, ...
- (19) i.90.21 conseyvyng of yvel of God. 'thinking ill
of God'.
- (20) i.160.35 Crist ... seiþ þere ben foure manere of
bryngingis forþ of man, ...
- (21) ii.263.1 and in his fastyng of þre daies he saw
many pryvytees of God; ...
(OED Of, prep. 39. Indicating quantity, age, ...
etc but cf 52. 'in the course of'.)
- (22) ii.76.30 And þis falliþ in chapitre lawe, and ech
punishing of monei.

- (23) ii.258.26 figtyngē wip enemys ...
- (24) ii.233.35 For God biddip us in Lukes gospel, þat
 bifore þe day of dome we shulden reise up oure
 heedis, for oure ful bigging is nyȝe.
- (25) i.319.20 þis nativite of Crist was more þan ony
 oper, ȝhe, and more þan Adames makynge, ...

The object also occurs preposed in the common case (as does a noun in (?)adverbial relation in (32)). Examples are few, and may be interpretable as the first invariant element of a compound if plural instances are genitive (but cf Visser II §1114, §1116).

- (26) i.182.16 And þus men shulden not folili slee hem
 silf, neþer in fastinge ne in etinge ne in cause
 defending, ...
- (27) i.308.19 trete we of þe Chirche dowyng, ...
- (28) ii.248.25 And in þis failen many men in tretes and
 acordis makynge. (two words in MS)
- (29) ii.369.26 in preching and miraclis makynge, ...
- (30) ii.79.23 mansleyingis, ...
- (31) ii.254.21 þis blasfeme gabbing ... (with ambiguous
 structure: blasfeme may be adj. or sb.)
- (32) i.105.11 And leve we to ȝonge men scole trefyngē
 of þis matere, ...

When not preceded by a genitive NP, VERBING may be preceded by þe, þis, þat, a, ech, ony, sich, opir as in (13), (14) above, and adjectives, numerals or quantifiers may occur as normal in NPs: examples are cited below. But there need not be a determiner, as is common in WSerE and ME generally with abstract nouns even when modified (Mustanoja 1960 p 256-7, p 268-9): eg (15), (18), (19), (20), (23).

- (33) ii.73.24 þis comyng of þe Goost was profesied bi
 olde profetis.
- (34) ii.77.1 þis reule þat þis gospel tellip is betere
 þan ony privy snybbing.

- (35) ii.224.4 sich ofte etingis of men ben clepid
commessaciouns.
- (36) i.204.8 sip Crist in all hise pre wepingis wepte
for oþer mennis synne.
- (37) i.13.30 Two fishingis þat Petre fishide bitokenep
two takingis of men unto Cristis religioun, and
fro þe fend to God.
- (38) i.204.14 And of þese þree pursuyngis þat comen to
þe Chirche, þe firste is leste of alle, ...
- (39) ii.262.15 'Poul was in traveil and myshef, in many
fastingis, in coold and nakidnesse, ...'
2 Cor 11.27 in fame et siti, in jejuniis multis, ...
- (40) ii.252.15 And so þis o word of Poul axip myche
special declaryng; ...
- (41) i.169.29 Þis lore þat Cristis scole axip loveþ
none gabbingis, but þat þei do in dede as her
mouþ confessip.

In the VERBING phrase we find such prepositional phrases and complement clauses (both finite and infinitive) as might occur with the VERB in VP, though they are also elements of noun phrase structure. We also find single adverbs, eg AȜEN, BIFORE, HERE, and prepositional phrases, TO VP and other groups in essentially adverbial function. For TO VP see also (15).

- (42) i.141.27 For boþe Cristis liynge in þe sepulcre
and his dwellinge here in erþe ...
- (43) i.199.20 in dowinge of þe Church wiþ lordship of
þe world, ...
- (44) i.167.33 And þus men maken hem over wise in jugement
of holi Chirche, and in demynge of mennis lyf, þat
þis goip to hevene and þis to helle, ...
- (45) ii.64.33 For men failen in jugement for coveitise of
worldli goodis, and personel affecciouns, and levyng
to loke to Goddis wille.
- (46) ii.44.2 And so Cristis bidding to bigge swerdis to
figte contrariede himsilf, ...
- (47) ii.259.1 Þe passing þourȝ þe Reed see and stondinge
stable as a walle, figuride þe passioun of Crist, ...

- (48) i.184.29 bi þis shewyng here in þis lyf, þei ben
more stablid in þis to trowe in Crist.
(ie by the transfiguration)
- (49) ii.229.4 and synne of failing of preestis in þis
service is more foule.
- (50) i.21.27 for worchyng bi riȝt lyf, endid after Goddis
wille, makip a man Goddis child ...
- (51) ii.255.20 For where is welle of more love, þan
chesyng of God bifore þe world for to brynge men
to blisse, and to alle menes nedeful þerfore?
- (52) i.25.35 And þis telde Crists wending into þe temple
after þes wordis, ...
- (53) i.196.3 confessioun, ... is not rownyng in preestis
eere, to telle him synne þat we han done, ...
- (54) i.121.11 His passyng over þis water with his disciplis,
is passyng over worldely perilis to take Goddis lore.
- (55) ii.286.4 Poul tellip to þe witt of allegori, what þe
wendyng of þe folk of Israel, whanne þei wenten out
of Egipt, figuride to witt of vertues.

Besides these options, the VERBING phrase may be followed by a relative clause referring to the whole phrase, both restrictive and non-restrictive as here (and in (38)):

- (56) ii.247.22 And þis ȝvyng of double almes, þat is
pertinent to preestis, shulde be done in symplenesse, ...
- (57) ii.260.1 in þe rennyng þat Poul tellip, ...

8.2 Distribution of the VERBING Phrase

8.2.1 The distribution of the VERBING phrase is exactly like that of other noun phrases. It occurs as the subject or object (including prepositional object) of a wide range of verbs, as the predicate of BE, and within a PP dependent on a nominal head or in adverbial function. It is found regularly conjoined with a noun phrase (also

after *þAN*), and it appears in passive sentences both as derived subject and in the OF-phrase. Most of these possibilities have already been amply illustrated above, so only a few extra instances will be given here.

- (58) i.186.21 *þe li3tninge is first in brekinge of
cloudis, as if two stoones on a ny3t weren knockid
togider, and þis noise is maad of þis hard hurtling; ...*
- (59) i.4.16 *also þe tyme of sittying at þis soper is
wipouten eende.*
- (60) i.177.16 *And so we have mandement of Crist, and
autorite to go, and foorme of þis perilous goinge,
þat makip it more medeful.*
- (61) ii.235.21 *and þis unstable bifalling seen seintis
in Goddis wille.*
- (62) ii.80.1 *brekyng of þer owne custumes þei chargen
as a greet synne, but brekyng of Goddis lawe þei
chargen nou3t, or to lital.*

It is perhaps worth noting that *þE VERBING* is quite common in subject position despite the fact that Visser II §1040 only cites two for ME. Five out of the 17 action nominals introduced by *þE* in the corpus occur in subject position, and all have some modification. Three are cited in this chapter: (13), (47), (64); and (55) from outside the corpus.

8.2.2 The incidence of VERBING in the corpus.

In the sermon corpus 392 instances of VERBING were identified (perhaps generously, cf §8.0.2) as semantically transparent formations referring to the action, process, state (etc) of the verb, and a further 92 were taken not to be transparent. The overall figure is proportionately about one third higher than that found for the Parson's Tale by Emonds (1973).

VERBING is distributed as follows:

As subject	80 (18)
As an object (with or without preposition) subcategorized by its matrix verb	60 (32)
As predicate of BE	27 (4)
After PAN	7
As object of a preposition within an adverbial adjunct Most frequent prepositions: BI 27, FOR 31, IN 79, OF 13	177 (35)
As object of a preposition dependent on a head noun	41 (3)
	<hr/> 392 (92)

(Here the first figure is for transparent formations, and the second bracketed figure is for the others.)

Within the 392 'transparent' VERBING phrases, we find that in constructions with VERBING,

- 17 contain an introductory PE.
- 38 contain an introductory PIS.
- 7 contain an introductory genitive NP (6 are subject, the example in ii.243.8 may well be object. A further possible object example is below under 'preceding N object'.).
- 24 contain an introductory genitive pronoun (22 are subject).
- 24 contain introductory determiners or quantifiers, such as A, ONY, SICH, AL, MYCHE, NONE.
- 22 are plural.
- 49 contain adjectives or numerals.
- 11 contain an adverb.
- 220 contain a following PP or TO VP. The vast majority of these simply have OF NP.
- 4 contain a following simple NP.
- 3 have preceding N object (?as first part of a compound: one is plural and may be genitive).
- 10 contain a relative clause.

Two facts about these figures are rather striking. In the first place the incidence of VERBING phrases seems rather high. This is obviously related to the exegetical nature of the text, but provides a sharp contrast with PE which generally prefers to avoid the action nominal (cf Emonds 1973 p 187). Moreover, a strikingly high proportion of WSerE VERBING phrases contain some modification; when we reflect that most of the postmodification is OF NP, and remark also on the occurrence of genitives, adjectives, relative clauses etc, it seems that a very high proportion of instances in the text proclaim themselves grammatically nominal, despite the rather low incidence of PE, so that NP structure seems well entrenched in actual usage. Since it was at more or less this period that the VERBING nominal developed aspects of verbal rection the extent of nominal rection in WSerE is rather interesting.

8.3 Remarks on the Grammar of VERBING

8.3.1 Internal structure.

From the above it seems that the structure of the VERBING phrase is in most respects simply that of a normal noun phrase: the elements that occur can generally be paralleled in construction with other abstract and deverbal nouns. Moreover the VERBING phrase does not show the internal operation of RAISING, TOPICALIZATION and other rules presumably restricted to clauses. Thus we may suppose that the construction is indeed [_NVERB ING]_N, where ING is a word-forming affix, not a complementizer, and the structure of the VERBING phrase does not involve recursion through the nodes S or VP. The selectional

choices made within noun phrase structure by VERBING will of course reflect those made within sentential structure by VERB. But while this is the general case, there are a few indications of verbal rection, and to these I will now turn.

In the first place, adverbs may occur with VERBING. An adjective may fulfil the semantic function of an adverb, as in (13). But an adverb is also found both immediately before VERBING and immediately after, though in the majority of such cases other aspects of rection are clearly nominal. The situation is that described for the fourteenth century in OED *-ing*^{1,2} since the adverbs involved here are not only those which like UP in TURNE UP occur in ME as prefixes and may constitute single lexical entries with their verb, but are also more freely available: AFTIR ii.80.9; A3EN i.183.4; BIFORE ii.255.23, i.352.7; FORþ (20), i.167.21; HERE (48); OUT i.187.10; WIPOUTE-FORþ i.17.4 and the following:

- (63) ii.258.24 And so þis rennyng and þis figting is
hastely going of manniss soule to hevene bi þe
wey of vertues, ...
- (64) i.9.14 þe turning up of þis house is changinge of
statis þat ben maid in þis world ...
- (65) i.141.27 For boþe Cristis liynge in þe sepulcre
and his dwellinge here in erþe ...
- (66) ii.250.21 þis bringing in of manniss peyne þat bi
his foly makip þis peyne, is noon yvel of injury, ...
- (67) i.190.8 And so þes sevene þingis shulden be loved,
but lasse þan Crist or his lawe; and þus puttinge
behinde of love, is hating þat Crist spekip of.

Note also (35) and ii.224.2 with preceding OFTE (which may have been recategorized as an adjective as OED *Oft*, adv. adj. B. implies) and þUS in (67), ii.57.16 if it is to be taken with VERBING. It is

(Visser II §§1114, 1116: clearly not EV Matt 23.14 but this is not reproduced in LV). While WSerE evidently represents a type of language where some instances are open to reinterpretation as having recursion through S or VP,* in both VERBING with preceding and following object, there is no real evidence that such reinterpretation has taken place. Preceding nouns may be genitives or the first part of compounds; following objects may indicate blending processes rather than a fully available gerund construction.

It seems, then, that we must admit that noun phrase structure may contain adverbs, perhaps as a result of the change from the compound type $\text{FOR}^{\text{P}}\text{BRYNGE}$: $\text{FOR}^{\text{P}}\text{BRYNGYNG}$ to $\text{BRYNGE FOR}^{\text{P}}$: hence $\text{BRYNGYNG FOR}^{\text{P}}$ as suggested by OED -ing^{1,2}. But it is not clear that for WSerE we should recognise a separate construction having verbal rection within the VERBING phrase, with internal structures dominated by S or VP and perhaps ING as complementizer as having anything more than a marginal status, even a status possibly restricted essentially to performance. WSerE looks more like a language on the point of change in this respect than a language which has already changed.

It is worth noting here that WSerE may differ from some contemporary texts in its small use of verbal rection and perhaps from EV in particular (cf the references of §8.0.0). However, since VERBING is used quite independently of the Vulgate, and also to render Latin abstract nouns as well as the infrequent Vulgate gerund (twice only in the corpus, and on neither occasion is there an object: the gerund is also otherwise rendered) it may well be that Latin

* For an analysis of the PE gerundive nominal involving recursion through VP see Schachter 1976, Horn 1975.

influence was important in motivating the VERBING with verbal rection as OED -ing^{1,2} suggests, and that the difference between WSerE and WBib is simply a matter of the extent of this influence.

8.3.2 VERBING and complement clauses.

There is some further evidence that VERBING is distinct from complement clauses, which would support its interpretation as a noun phrase structure despite the existence of examples like (76) and (79) below which seem to parallel occurrences of the infinitive. There are two major respects in which VERBING and complement clauses differ. The first is that their general distribution is quite different. With only a few verbs does VERBING's distribution overlap with that of finite or nonfinite complement clauses, and examples here are absolutely and proportionately quite few. There is, secondly, the difference that the understood subject of TO VP in complement structures is regularly interpretable as being under the control of some matrix NP. When the understood subject is indefinite, or is to be retrieved from the more general context, there is no controlling NP present (see the discussion of §5.1.3, where a group of exceptions is pointed out). VERBING certainly occurs where its understood subject is identical to a matrix NP which would be the controller of EQUI with a nonfinite complement. But it also occurs where the activity of the verb is itself being referred to, so that there is no question of there being any understood subject, and it is found in two examples where the control condition which would hold with nonfinite complements is violated: in (77) and (78) in contrast with (76).

(74) i.30.15 for Tirus is makyng, ...

(75) i.39.35 for Naym is as myche to say as flowynge
or movynge, ...

- (76) i.187.21 and sum men han hope of welfare of
þis world, and dreden of fallinge þerfro; ...
- (77) ii.61.13 But gif þei dredden knowing of þer fraude,
þei wolden make hem to grete lordis, ...
- (78) i.194.22 þerfore Crist confortiþ hise to drede
not sleynge of bodi; ...

Thus, though some instances look as if they might parallel infinitival complements, it seems that their subject is not to be retrieved by virtue of the structural configuration in which they occur as with TO VP, but merely from context with therefore only an apparent fulfilment of control conditions. This would accord with a distinction between a noun phrase in which no genitive 'subject' was necessarily generated, and a sentence (underlying TO VP) in which a subject must be present in deep structure, to be deleted only under specific conditions. So we must interpret instances like (79) and (76)-(78) above as object noun phrases, as very clearly in (80). Probably, however, in (81) the construction is with participle. See Ortmann 1902 p 77 and Visser III.2 §1791 ABIDAN, CONTINUE, DWELL, LAST for examples from WBib all of which translate perseverare or instare + participle or adjective.

- (79) ii.76.27 for þanne ofte siþis his breþeren
shulden leeven comunyng wiþ þer abbot, and fle
him as an heþene man; ...
- (80) i.173.5 it were þe beste ensauple þat þou
shuldist have to suffre, and to cese þi
grutchyng; ...
- (81) ii.86.31 'And whanne þei dwelten axing him, ...'
John 8.7 Cum ergo perseverarent interrogantes
eum, ...

8.3.3 Semantics of VERBING.

Granted that WSerE seems syntactically to show only an undifferentiated verbal substantive, we may wish to ask two questions which

will shed light mainly on the semantics of VERBING. Firstly, since stative verbs are not permitted in PE action nominals, to what extent are stative verbs permitted in WSerE verbal substantives? And secondly, to what extent can the WSerE VERBING be used where 'facts' rather than 'actions' are involved?

Stative verbs are infrequent. Many of the potential examples may rather be concrete, and 'stativity' is not easy to distinguish. Here are the better examples:

- (82) i.352.7 and in þat beyng bifore he mote nede be
God.
'and by virtue of that existing beforehand he must necessarily be God'.
- (83) ii.55.3 Oþir men seien þat Crist takip treuþe for
covenable beyng in vertues; and so þe fend stood
nevere in treuþe, ...
- (84) i.202.35 to mekeli holde men in havynge of worldli
[sic MS] goodis, as moche as nedip to susteyne
her office.
- (85) ii.228.10 And to þis entent Poul preieþ, 'þat he
þat is God of hope fille þou wip alle joie and
pees in bilevyng, ...'
Romans 15.13 Deus autem spei repleat vos omni
gaudio et pace in credendo: ...
- (86) i.203.2 fame þat comeþ to þe world for havinge
of siche goodis, ...
- (87) i.169.22 and wantinge of þis love is cause of
ech synne and of ech harm þat fallip in þe
Chirche; ...
- (88) i.174.33 But þis feip is oper weie in wantyng
or in slepyng.*

* Arnold prints wakyng as the reading of Bod 788, and notes that MS E reads wantyng. The reading of Bod 788 (to judge from the microfilm) is certainly not wakyng, and though I cannot see clearly what it is, may well be wantyng.

From these examples it seems that WSerE action nominals may differ from PE action nominals in permitting the construction with stative verbs. It is not possible to assess how freely such combination was permitted; if there was any restriction this would accord perfectly with a lexically derived VERBING.

Rather more striking is the extremely low incidence of VERBING which does not seem best interpreted as referring to an action, process, event or state. There are neutralized instances, but no case where reference to a fact rather than to an action (etc) is clearly in question. The situation is thus simply that VERBING may, like other abstract nouns, be used where the translation 'the fact that ...' may be appropriate but not required (cf noumbre, dispensis in (91)). This option is however rarely exercised. (82) is a good example (translate 'and by virtue of the fact that he existed beforehand ...'). Possible instances are:

- (89) i.25.35 And pis telde Crists wending into þe
temple after þes wordis, ...
(where pis is object of telde)

- (90) ii.67.33 and 3it, for blyndenesse þat þei hadden,
þei jugiden hem to obeishe to God for pursuyng
and killing of Crist; ...

and (13), (16) (but cf (37), (47), (55)). See too i.7.27, ii.58.16, but here medling is surely concrete. However, in all of these instances a reference to the actual action or state seems possible, or even preferable, and the secondary character of such 'fact' interpretations is supported by conjunction of VERBING and concrete noun phrases in (91).

- (91) i.20.25 for greet noumbre and costlewe
 housis and greet dispensis of þis world, wip
 reulynge of worldely causis, tellen what ende
 þei worchen fore.

This short attempt to compare PE and WSerE leads to this conclusion: that WSerE uses its VERBING phrase essentially to refer to actions, processes, habits, states etc. It thus corresponds to the PE action nominal, and subjectless gerundive nominal. However, like other abstract noun phrases it may occur in contexts where a 'fact that' interpretation seems appropriate, and to that extent it may correspond to the PE gerundive nominal denoting a 'fact'. But this use seems to be both contextual, and unusual. In this respect it is interesting that WSerE VERBING is at least uncommon with 'stative' verbs, discounting 'concrete' interpretations, which also indicates a continuing focus on the (original) area of meaning of this construction.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an account of the semantically transparent 'action nominal' VERBING, which refers to the action, event, process or state designated by the verb, and has only incidentally referred to the semantically opaque 'concrete nominal'. The action nominal is best interpreted as a noun occurring within straightforward noun phrase structure. It is distributed like a noun phrase, and it shows the normal elements and contrasts of noun phrases (determiners, numerals, adjectives, plurality, etc). Such elements are common with VERBING in the text, so that the construction is rather well marked in usage as being a noun phrase. The VERBING phrase also reflects the selectional choices made by the verb: thus a preceding genitive NP

or following OF NP may correspond to the verb's subject or object, and other appropriate prepositions may appear with objects. Single adverbs and adverbial elements may however occur within this noun phrase structure apparently as a normal part of it. One further consequence of adopting a noun phrase structure for VERBING phrases is that this will account for a difference between them and infinitives in that the understood subject of the VERBING phrase is not under the 'control' of a higher NP as that of an infinitive apparently is. Besides this noun phrase structure there are two infrequent minor types which are distinct in syntax, though difficult to interpret. In one the object noun precedes VERBING: it may well be a compound. It may however be related to instances of the second type, VERBING with following direct object, and show the development of a construction with verbal rection and recursion through S or VP beneath NP. This second type is not semantically distinct from the action nominal, and may be interpretable as due rather to performance factors than to the full establishment of a separate construction. Its status is not clear, and in this respect WSerE seems to be a language on the brink of change rather than one which has already changed.

VERBING occurs rather frequently in WSerE and is quite independent of Latin. It involves reference to an action, event, process or state, and may occur with stative verbs as the PE action nominal may not. On occasion it may seem to be suitably rendered by PE 'the fact that', but this is probably a contextual effect found with some abstract nouns, and reference to facts does not seem to be part of the construction's basic semantics.

9.0 This thesis has been concerned both to establish aspects of the grammar of the complement system of WSerE, and to provide a descriptive account of such clauses as they occur in a limited corpus. This descriptive aim has been supported by plentiful exemplification, and by a reasonably discursive treatment; it does not lend itself to summation but is in effect a major result of this thesis.

Before turning to the more strictly grammatical results it is worth remarking the clarity of the relationship to Latin shown by certain aspects of the complement system since this has a more general importance for an understanding of WSerE. $\bar{P}AT$ NE is clearly modelled on QUIN; the extension of nonfinite clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring seems best interpreted in terms of the influence of Latin; and there is very possibly some further influence in the use of $\bar{P}AT$ before direct speech (or even in the use of CLAN-sentences). In no case here is there a development which is not motivated or already present within the structure of English, and the features involved are not merely calques but are clearly freely available (within the limits of Vulgate-rendering in the case of $\bar{P}AT$ plus direct speech). The strong implication of the occurrence of $\bar{P}AT$ NE, as also of the extension of nonfinite clauses, is that WSerE is a type of English developing in these respects with Latin as a model, so that Latin supplies the target accusative with infinitive for verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, and motivates the external form of $\bar{P}AT$ NE granted appropriate internal pressures.

9.1 Basic Structures and Rules in Complement Clauses

In the sermon corpus we find finite $\hat{P}AT$ - and WH-clauses, and infinitives both with and without an associated subject functioning as part of the central subcategorization of a verb. Such complement clauses may be characterized as both NP and S, though the evidence that nonfinite complements are essentially clausal is very slender. However, there is ample evidence of the commutation of all these clause types with NP and PP in various positions, and the verbs which occur with complements are typically subcategorized for NP or PP, so it is clear that WSerE generally shows NP-complementation. It is possible, however, that we should recognize some instances of VP-complementation. In particular, the premodals (or ancestors of our PE modals) clearly already form a syntactically isolated group distinguished by the fact that the infinitive is regularly plain when it occurs in contact, and, since commutation with NP is marginal in the central premodals, it may be that this regular plain infinitive is an indication of VP-complementation.

The structures and structure-changing rules in terms of which WSerE complement clauses may be characterized in many respects parallel those obtaining today. There is however no evidence from WSerE that the undeleted subject of an infinitive clause does not remain connex with that clause in surface structure. From other evidence it is clear that in LME the NP of one place NP TO VP could behave as a member of the matrix clause, at least when a pronoun, but in WSerE and elsewhere there is also evidence that NP TO VP may remain connex. Thus, for example, it may occur in apposition or with internal

reordering. WSerE seems moreover to have had an initial oblique case complementizer, as perhaps did other types of ME before the mid fifteenth century. At least in some cases, then, it is clear that we should characterize WSerE NP TO VP as connex and marked by an initial oblique case complementizer when it represents one place in deep structure, instead of disconnex as in PE nonfinite clauses without FOR. The 'split subject' relationship typical of PE is found, though it is much less in evidence than today, so that we might say that WSerE had RAISING to subject rather restrictedly and may only have had RAISING to object optionally with pronouns if at all. Other rules required in the complement system, apart from PAT-DELETION and a rule controlling variation in infinitive marking which are dealt with below, are: PREPOSITION DELETION, EQUI NOUN PHRASE DELETION, OBJECT RAISING, EXTRAPOSITION, WH-MOVEMENT and TO BE DELETION and the most interesting difference from PE here lies in the conditions controlling the presence of place-holding IT before an extraposed clause. It is uncommon in object position; and its function in subject position seems largely to be to ensure that the verb occupies second place in the clause. There is also a reordering for reasons of weight, found particularly in WH-clauses but also elsewhere, whereby the subject NP is placed after the verbal group (especially when BE is involved) when that is also clause final position. This has been interpreted as a 'structure preserving' rule, and not as a rule essentially connected with the complement system.

Besides occurring in typical NP position within clause structure complement clauses also occur in apposition and in particular, in one construction type, the CLAN-sentence, which is only restrictedly

possible today. Here a clause occurs as a reformulation of some preceding NP. The characteristics of this construction seem to be that the clause is connex with the NP when they are in contact, that the clause contains a pronoun referring to the NP (or to its preceding genitive), and that the clause fulfils the subcategorization and selectional requirements of the matrix expression.

The deverbal noun in -ING referring to the action, event, process etc of a verb, (the 'action nominal' rather than the 'concrete nominal'), claims a place here largely for historical reasons. It is rather frequent in WSerE. It does not form part of the complement system but simply heads a straightforward noun phrase showing all the contrasts normal in noun phrases and moreover permitting adverbs and other adverbial elements to occur within noun phrase structure. There are signs of developing verbal rection in the occurrence of a direct object immediately after VERBING (and perhaps also immediately before), but unmixed distinctively verbal rection is very uncommon, and the grammatical status of such instances is quite doubtful.

9.2 Oppositions Within Complement Clauses

Complement clauses may be characterized in terms of the oppositions which hold between them. The fundamental oppositions are finite : nonfinite and WH-clause : non-WH-clause, where a finite clause tends to encapsulate a propositional representation and a nonfinite clause tends rather to refer to a real world state or action (etc), as we see in the distinctions made after certain verbs, notably BIDDE. There is a partially suppletive relationship between finite and nonfinite clauses after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, but no

real evidence that it is essentially a syntactic interchange requiring a modification of the basic finite : nonfinite contrast.

The major oppositions holding within finite complement clauses are as follows.

Firstly, though direct speech is perhaps strictly outside the complement system, there is a well maintained opposition between indirect clause and subordinate direct speech as defined by the tests involving pronouns, tense and vocatives developed in §3.1.2. There is a little evidence of switching from one category to another, especially at clause boundaries, and possibly there is a separate category of indirect speech containing indirect pronouns but showing the inversion typical of direct speech in questions and requests. Perhaps related to this is the distinction in internal word order freedom between 'asserted' and 'nonasserted' PAT-clauses (possibly found also in nonfinites). After those expressions which would permit a following subordinate clause with some independently asserted force we find the fronting of sentence elements and inversion of subject and finite verb otherwise typical of main clauses. This may be characterized by saying that such asserted clauses are 'root sentences', and that in consequence 'root transformations' are permitted to occur in them.

The subjunctive occurs in complement clauses when motivated by independent factors, but it also occurs regularly after verbs of ordering, requesting, wishing and ensuring, and less regularly in yes/no questions. It seems possible that the opposition subjunctive : indicative can be characterized here, and to some extent elsewhere in complement clauses, as showing the use of the subjunctive with varying degrees of regularity in clauses where typically the matrix

construction does not involve a claim about truth value. After verbs of ordering, requesting and wishing there is a subsidiary opposition between the inflectional subjunctive and shulde which seems to show a stage in the transfer of shulde from lexis to grammar. Shulde is used to convey an order which obliges its subject, whereas the inflectional subjunctive is used elsewhere.

WH-clauses show a distinction between indirect interrogatives and exclamatives, and we must also distinguish the headless relative. There is a frequent and well developed use of HOW in a sense close to ȒAT but distinct from it, except perhaps contextually. HOW here is distributionally an indirect question, and it carries the potential implication that the clause which follows it is a summary or interpretation, or is a narrative.

9.3 Occurrence of ȒAT and (FOR) TO

ȒAT is a general finite clause marker. It may also occur before direct speech when the Vulgate is being rendered and before the phrasal remnant of a clause whose verb has been deleted. Its presence and absence in ȒAT-clauses is apparently largely under lexical and syntactic control. It is possible to write a variable rule of ȒAT DELETION in which the parameters are the individual matrix verb, the nature of the clause initial element and the presence or absence of material between matrix verb and clause. The overall incidence of ȒAT DELETION is within the range found for PE, and we may speculate that in both WSerE and PE it is ultimately responsive to perceptual and processing factors, and that the difference between PE and WSerE in the extent to which a clause initial pronoun motivates ȒAT DELETION may be a

consequence of the different clause boundary marking potential of pronouns in the two languages. The factors which govern the presence and absence of *þ*PAT after WH-phrases are however apparently quite different. *þ*PAT is strikingly infrequent here, typically occurring in HOW *þ*PAT near the beginning of a sermon, and it seems best to attribute its use to blending pressures and discourse requirements.

Variation between infinitive marking by FOR TO : TO : ZERO is, like the presence of *þ*PAT in *þ*PAT-clauses, under lexical and syntactic control. The individual matrix verb and the construction type are both conditioning factors: thus ZERO is only found in object complements, while FOR TO is commonest in two construction types where the matrix subject is the infinitive object, and in adjuncts (though not particularly in purpose adjuncts). It seems, however, that mere separation from matrix verb is not of itself a factor of much importance in the choice of infinitive marker. We may point instead to more specific factors: separation from a conjunction, and (at least for FOR TO) perhaps the fronting of material within the infinitive clause, both of which tend to make an infinitive more difficult to identify and hence need stronger marking; possibly too, FOR TO may sometimes be a signal that the most immediately preceding NP is not the subject of its infinitive.

9.4 Nonfinite Clauses with Verbs of Knowing, Thinking and Declaring

The extension of nonfinite clauses to verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring is of especial interest. From the evidence of LV's acceptance and rejection of the usage of EV, as also from WSerE, Chaucer and the data given in Visser, it seems that such constructions

were favoured where the infinitive was TO BE and where the clause subject was removed by transformation. English is clearly being modelled on Latin here, adopting the nonfinite clause construction obliquely by a whole series of minimal alterations proceeding at a relatively abstract level, and not just by the insertion of TO BE into NP PRED. We may see this in terms of an implicational scale controlled by the parameters: identity of matrix verb, presence of TO BE, removal of NP and closeness to Latin. The existence of these parameters is made plausible by the similar situation in PE, where 'degree of formality' replaces 'closeness to Latin'. It seems likely therefore that the LME situation is 'natural', and demands further explanation. I have tentatively suggested that there may have been two long term pressures operating on English: firstly, pressure to interpret the sequence VERB NP as an 'apparent constituent', and secondly pressure to maintain the general opposition between finite and nonfinite clauses, and that these two pressures are at least partly responsible for the naturalness of the situation in WSerE and PE. If this is correct, then we may interpret the change which we see in progress in WSerE and WBib as controlled at one level by the modelling of English on Latin by a process of minimal alteration, and also as being under the control of these more general semantic and psycholinguistic pressures which have helped to preserve the implicational structuring into PE. We may incidentally remark here as a subsidiary conclusion that in the existence of two versions of WBib, one relatively literal and the other substantially more idiomatic we have a valuable source of data on the acceptability of certain constructions (within a particular type of English) to the reviser(s) of WBib.

9.5 ĤPAT NE-Clauses

The second major area of Latin influence on WSerE complement clauses lies in the distinctive use of NE in ĤPAT-clauses in contexts of double negation. Clause-initial NE is used to express real negation after a real negation in the matrix sentence, and 'pleonastically' after a double negation (both real or one real one virtual) in the matrix sentence. This use is almost exceptionless in complement clauses, and it is found also in consecutive clauses and in 'relative' clauses with a redundant pronoun after a negated head noun. Comparison with other constructions (principally BUT 3IF-clauses) shows that here too there is substantial regularity, with ĤPAT NE (except with rhetorical question negation) preferring to occur in a restricted area ie with the negated subject of existential BE when the redundant pronoun is also subject. Comparison with PE however makes it seem reasonable to speculate that instead of this series of syntactic statements we might simply say that the grammar of ĤPAT NE-clauses might be quite narrowly characterized as the occurrence of NE where a clause with 'negative polarity' has been switched to 'affirmative polarity' by embedding within a further negation.

This use of NE is closely related to constructions with negatives in other ME dialects, and its historical development must involve the survival of the unsupported NE which elsewhere seems to be typical of ĤPAT NE-contexts, as the apparent free variation between the orders ĤPAT NE PRONOUN and ĤPAT PRONOUN NE among some of the sermon MSS may imply. The phonological tendency towards reduction of unsupported NE clearly resulted in pressure for the distinctive

marking of PAT NE-clauses, witness the development of BUT. However, the availability of a model in Latin QUIN (frequent in Wyclif's De Officio Pastoralis) led to the development of PAT NE in WSerE and some other Latin related texts. In WSerE the form is freely available. Its grammar is probably best characterized historically as the addition of a rule, rather than as a simplification of the grammar, in view of PAT NE's apparent narrow general distribution.

9.6 Finally, to conclude this summary: in this thesis I have tried to orient a synchronic descriptive syntax by providing justification from general linguistic theory and the history of English when I was able. To the extent that this has been successful, one might also claim that the demonstration of general methodological approach adopted deserves to stand as one of the results of the thesis.

As part of the investigations associated with this thesis I examined the grammar of the alternation between reflexive pronouns marked with SILF and those not so marked. In this appendix I will first consider some facts relevant to the assignment of structure to the sequence NP TO VP, and then give a brief straightforward preliminary account of the grammar of postverbal reflexive pronouns. The account will be based on an extended corpus consisting of the basic corpus plus i.151-162, 206-412, ii.140-180, 308-376, and evidence available in Visser, MED, OED, and, for NP TO VP, my collection of data from WBib. This account has, however, two major limitations. In the first place, the data for individual lexical items is often scanty. Secondly, the account itself is necessarily brief, with one of its aims the establishment of the relevance of SILF-marked forms to the structural problem posed by (NP TO VP), so much is omitted.

In PE a reflexive pronoun marked by SELF is sometimes merely the automatic result of coreference, sometimes emphatic, and sometimes perhaps best called 'precisional' as in the contrast between (1) and (2), where himself is not intonationally marked as contrastive.

(1) He put it on the table before him.

(2) He put it on the table before himself.

In WSerE there were apparently emphatic and precisional uses of SILF, but it is not clear that there was any automatic process of REFLEXIVIZATION as often suggested for PE. In most circumstances at least it seems that forms with and without SILF were both available, though

after some prepositions or verbs one form seems regular or at least strongly preferred.

The importance of reflexives for a discussion of the structure of NP TO VP appears in an example like (3); this discussion is necessarily based on WBib because of the lack of such reflexive instances in the sermon corpus. Here we may ask whether the occurrence of silf shows that hym is a member of the same clause as Teodas (or its 'clause mate') as is argued for parallel structures in PE (cf §2.1.3; alternatively we might discuss this in terms of the openness of NP to matrix clause processes). It may be that such a 'clause mate' condition characterized an (optional) rule of REFLEXIVIZATION, or otherwise controlled the appearance of SILF-forms.

- (3) Acts 5.36 LV Teodas, that seide hym silf to be
sum man, to whom a noumbre of men consentiden, ...
Theodas, dicens se esse aliquem, ...

There are two immediate reasons for suggesting that this is not the case. The first is that we find SILF-forms in subject position in finite subordinate clauses, as in (4) and (5).

- (4) i.156.38 Crist wiste þat him silfe shulde soone
passe fro his children; ...
In relative clauses: i.242.27, ii.379.24
- (5) Rom 1.22 LV thei seiynge that hem silf weren
wise, ...
Dicentes enim se esse sapientes, ...
(note that se is translated by pronouns both
with and without SILF)

Here the SILF-forms are not 'clause mates' of their antecedents, and the most natural and restrictive assumption must be that they represent an independent lexical SILF, not the reflex of any automatic grammatical rule. An automatic rule of such wide scope could not be justified; note also the 'clause mate' condition on PE REFLEXIVIZATION

and Chomsky's condition on the insertion of morphological material into subordinate clauses (1965 p 146). Granted this, we may expect to account similarly for SILF-forms occurring as the subject of nonfinite clauses: it is even the case that on three occasions LV renders EV's SILF TO VP by a finite clause with SILF as subject, in (6) and the instances referred to there.

- (6) Acts 8.9 EV sum man ... seiynghe him silf for to
be sum greet man.
LV a man ... seiynghe that him silf was sum greet
man.
dicens se esse aliquem magnum: ...
Also (5) above and Luke 23.2

Moreover the force of SILF in these instances with SILF-marked subject of finite clause implies a rather widely interpreted 'precisional' or 'contrastive' use, and one which would fit many of the instances of SILF TO VP, particularly those found in LV (rather than EV). It seems, then, that we might regard SILF TO VP as generally 'precisional' or 'contrastive' in this extended sense, granted the difficulty of recapturing the basis for choice in individual instances. Certainly there seems to be no adequate justification here for proposing a rule of REFLEXIVIZATION with its attendant implications for the structure of NP TO VP.

The Distribution of Reflexive Pronouns in WSerE

The SILF-marked pronouns occur in apposition to noun phrases (including pronouns) typically following them immediately, but also separated, cf (7) and (8).

- (7) i.26.18 he himsilf hap ordeyned him and hise to
have sicke goodis.
(8) i.305.19 ... Crist migte not himsilf make þes
elecciouns.

Otherwise we find SILF-forms most frequently within the same clause as their antecedent, and the antecedent is generally the clause subject, but neither of these conditions is invariable cf (4) and (9).

- (9) ii.264.1 'leste þat gretenesse of Goddis telling
hye Poul' above himsilf, ...

When in apposition SILF-forms can always be interpreted as emphatic. Elsewhere they can often be called 'contrastive', 'precisional' or 'emphatic'. Thus we find them used to render Latin semetipse etc, or in instances like (10)-(12) where there is a NP available within the preceding context which an unmarked pronoun might be taken to refer to, or where a precisional use is appropriate. In the extended sermon corpus it is also the case that with verbs which show variation between SILF-marked and unmarked objects, instances with SILF-marked object have a high incidence of proper name subjects (especially Crist), which again implies a semantic contrast. It seems clear that we must deal with SILF-marked pronouns in WSerE at least partly as showing a precisional, contrastive or emphatic marker SILF, even if we cannot see a justification for its use in all particular instances.

- (10) i.105.15 God ... wiþdrawiþ never his grace, but
3if man unable him selfe; ...
- (11) ii.353.11 so man helpiþ not his broþir, but 3if
he helpe himsilf first.
- (12) i.280.6 And þus a prest dampneþ himsilf þat seiþ
þat Crist spekiþ not here to him; ...

However, the distribution of SILF-marked pronouns cannot simply be accounted for in such terms in WSerE. There is a substantial regularity which points to the prediction of SILF-marked and unmarked forms by the governing verb as at least one of the factors responsible for their distribution. There is a similar area of regularity after

prepositions, which may also point to some measure of lexical control here. Additional factors might be suggested, but neither they nor control by the governing verb are such as to imply that we should view the occasional marking of NP in NP TO VP by SILF in WBib as a clue to the structure of nonfinite clauses.

The distribution found with verbs is most conveniently stated by dividing verbs up into groups, though the assignment of individual verbs must sometimes be rather arbitrary (the groups are not necessarily discrete), and it is not clear that the groups given below will prove ultimately to be the best for WSerE. Most of these groups are marked as occurring normally without SILF: only group (d) is apparently quite exceptionless in its use of unmarked forms, but when SILF occurs with groups (a),(b),(c), it is often interpretable as precisional or emphatic, as also, though less commonly, with (f). The usage of SILF with group (e) is distinct in this respect.

(a) Inchoative-causative verbs. Normally without SILF. Verbs here are related to a verb or adjective of identical form so that
A VERBS B = A CAUSES [B VERBS/B BE ADJ].

i.42.3 'For ech man þat heieþ him' by presumpcioun 'shal
be mekid' bi God, 'and he þat mekiþ him' in his soule
'shal be heyed' bi God.

i.8.29 and bade þe aungelis his frendis, and man next
him in manhede, rejoyeshe hem wiþ him, ...

eg: ABLE, HEIE, LOWE, MEKE, REJOYESHE, SUGETTE, UNABLE.

(b) Verbs which may delete an identical object. Normally without SILF. Verbs here may occur with a range of objects, and as intransitives in apparently the same sense as the reflexive. A VERBS = A VERBS A.

i.169.24 and þerfore men shulden enforce hem more to
lerne þis love.

i.35.3 he wolde shryve him to God, ...

eg: ENFORCE, GADERE, HIDE, HOLDE, SHRYVE, VENGE, WAISSHE.

(c) Verbs which may delete an identical object, but which may not have an object which is not identical or inalienably possessed.

Normally without SILF.

i.176.20 þes freris, þat feynen hem to be preestis, ...

ii.249.15 And þus men ... shulden not 'smatche hye þingis,' to caste hemsilf to be hye, ...

?ABSTEYNE, CASTE (particular sense), FEYNE.

(d) Verbs which may optionally be followed by an unmarked pronoun.

The distinction between (c) and (d) is that SILF-forms are occasionally found in (c), but apparently never in (d). Visser discusses such verbs in I §§328, 330; the most frequent member in WSerE is DREDE.

i.129.26 Þei dredden hem þat Goddis law shal quyken after þis ...

?AVISE, DREDE, ENTIRMETE.

(e) Verbs which are essentially monotransitive, though some are sometimes used absolutely. Regularly with SILF.

i.320.28 þei synnen in þis, and harmen hemsilf.

i.182.16 And þus men shulden not folili slee hem silf, ...

eg: CONTRARIE, HARME, HATE, KNOWE, LOVE, REVERSE, SLEE; but DEFOURME and FORDO occur with unmarked pronouns (once each).

(f) Verbs which are transitive, but which are not restricted to a monotransitive construction, occurring with ditransitive structures or NP PRED etc. These verbs vary but occur predominantly without SILF.

i.184.34 he clepip him here sone of a man; ...

i.191.35 Þis tour is algatis sure to men þat putten hem wel upon þis ground, ...

eg: BINDE, DISPOSE, GROUNDE, PUTTE, SHEWE and at least occasionally with SILF: BEGILE, CLEPE, 3YVE, KEPE, MAKE, SEIE.

It seems likely that the occurrence of SILF-marked pronouns is to a large extent controlled by the verb, and that they cannot merely be thought of as freely occurring emphatic or precisional markers: this would not explain (eg) their regular occurrence with SLEE and lack with PUTTE. We may briefly note here that a similar area of regularity is found also after prepositions. How this group of verbs is to be characterized is not yet clear. It consists of monotransitive verbs which are not causatives of class (a), and do not permit the deletion of an identical object (classes (b), (c)), with a few exceptions (eg BERE, HAVE and REULE in the sense 'behave'), and some ditransitive additions. However, the predominant regularity is apparently that verbs which are essentially deep monotransitives prefer a SILF-marked object. Interestingly groups (a), (b) and (c) are clearly less centrally transitive: in causatives the object is equivalent to the noncausative subject (and a bisentential derivation may be appropriate). This regularity in the behaviour of SILF would be appropriately dealt with lexically, either by subcategorization or rule-government: whichever option is chosen there is no support for the notion that (NP TO VP) structures will be affected by this process. It seems as if SILF is becoming automatic first in the centrally monotransitive area, and spreading out from there: this does not imply that the occasional occurrence of SILF-forms in (NP TO VP) means anything for their structure.

A tentative partial characterization of the grammar of SILF-marked pronouns in WSerE might be set up as follows. SILF is assigned in deep

structure as a precisional and emphatic formative. Certain verbs are marked as taking this form with an identical object regularly, or very commonly. The class of such verbs is partly idiosyncratic, but is largely predictable by a redundancy rule which marks as taking SILF all verbs which are subcategorized for at most a single object, except morphologically transparent causatives and verbs which may delete an identical object (ie groups (a), (b) and (c)). Verbs outside the SILF-class may of course also occur with SILF-marked objects, though these are much less common and are often clearly motivated as precisional etc, except for verbs of group (d). These verbs occur optionally with a reflexive pronoun which apparently never occurs with SILF, and contrasts with no other NP (but cf i.185.9). An appropriate mechanism is an optional rule copying the subject postverbally. Hence DREDE, verbs of motion etc are not subcategorized for this NP position, and consequently the 'precisional' form does not occur.

APPENDIX 2 MATRIX VERBS AND ADJECTIVES FOUND WITH COMPLEMENT CLAUSES
IN THE CORPUS

Here all verbs and adjectives found in the corpus with deep object complement clauses are listed in alphabetical order, along with those occurring with subject complements which are found more than once, or which seemed of interest. Each lexeme is followed by a schematic indication of the structures found, the number of times each is found in the corpus, and a couple of references for each (from the corpus when available). The structures given are those which result from the operation of the basic transformations of the complement system, and PASSIVE. The effect of other movement transformations (eg QUESTION FORMATION, SUBJECT VERB INVERSION) is disregarded, as is the presence of passivized agents and constituents which are not part of the central subcategorization of the verb. So examples like the following are all simply categorized as VERB NP - TO VP:

i.177.14 but he moveþ hem privly for greet mede to
 traveile þus; ...

i.6.1 and to sicke bodili pore men techen þis gospel
 men to do her almes; ...

If two matrix verbs both govern the same clause they are both counted, and so are complement clauses conjoined after NP objects, but only the first complement construction in any conjoined subordinate series is. Constructions of NP in apposition to clause are not included, except that CLAN-constructions have been listed as being of especial interest (see §5.1.6 for this term). Surface structures from outside the corpus are sometimes included, and the indication of surface

structures is made according to the following general conventions:

$\hat{P}AT$: a finite complement clause introduced by $\hat{P}AT$ or ZERO;
includes cases which neutralize the distinction direct speech/indirect
clause. The form pat is used for the actual lexical item.

WH: a finite WH-clause, interrogative or exclamative.

DS: a direct speech clause which passes one of the tests of §3.1.

subj: means that the subjunctive mood is attested, and the
indicative is not.

(NP TO VP): NP TO VP (possibly reordered) to be regarded as
deriving from one place in deep structure.

NP - TO VP: NP TO VP to be regarded as deriving from two places
in deep structure, as is also the sequence P NP TO VP.

NP(-)TO VP: NP TO VP to be regarded as deriving from one or two
places in deep structure.

NP TO VP: NP TO VP where there is not sufficient evidence to
plausibly assign it to one of the three preceding categories.

TO VP: an infinitive introduced by TO, FOR TO or ZERO.

VP: an infinitive introduced by ZERO only.

Δ TO VP: an infinitive whose subject is 'one' 'us', or which
is contextually suppliable, but which is not the subject of the matrix
verb.

TO V_: indicates that a preceding NP is object of the infinitive.

NP PRED: the sequence NP PREDICATE as discussed in §5.1.5.

CLAN $\hat{P}AT$ (etc): a CLAN-construction involving the named clause
type.

Structures are to be taken as occurring in object position after
the verb or adjective cited, unless another structure is indicated.

BE ABLE 'be suitable, capable'

TO VP: 3 i.31.33, i.195.5

BE ABOUTE 'be active, ready'

TO VP: 1 i.100.22, ii.77.27

ACCEPTE 'receive (sb.) in a certain capacity, judge worthy'

NP BE ACCEPTID TO VP: 1 i.13.13

ANSWERE

NP PAT: 1 i.2.28

TO NP DS: 2 ii.53.24, ii.56.31

APPROVE 'sanction, countenance'

PAT: 1 ii.241.26

AVISE 'bethink (oneself)'

NP WH: 1 i.191.26

AVOIDE 'refute, deny'

PAT: 1 i.195.10

AXE 'ask (for sth.)'

PAT subj: 2 i.170.3, ii.229.30

NP(-)TO VP: 0 i.116.4, i.235.28

(OF NP) TO VP (EQUI to subject of AXE): 1 i.108.19, ii.83.29

?Δ TO VP: 1 ii.81.19

'ask (a question)'

((OF)NP) WH: 8 i.17.28, i.22.15

((OF)NP) DS: 3 i.31.28, ii.55.10

NP BE AXID WH: 0 ii.35.33

BE

For examples of BE with NP or other predicate see chapter 5, and adjectives in this appendix.

IT BE PAT 'be the case': 1 ii.250.35

NP (BE) TO VP ('futurity'): 8 ii.59.4, ii.63.30

NP BE TO VP (with passive infinitive: 'obligation'): 1
i.196.34, ii.339.31

(IT) BE TO VP ('obligation'): 3 ii.234.10,24

NP BE TO V_ ('obligation'): 8 i.31.12, ii.236.19

BEKENE 'summon'

TO NP TO VP: 1 i.12.35

BIDDE 'order'

((TO) NP) PAT subj: 32 i.19.38, ii.248.29 (2 eggs)

(NP) DS: 4 ii.62.23, ii.244.34

NP(-)TO VP: 40 i.8.29, i.10.34

Δ TO VP: 2 ii.77.17, ii.250.13

Of these 42, as many as 26 neutralize the direct/indirect distinction.

NP BE BEDEN TO VP: 0 i.262.1, i.303.22

BIGYNNE

TO VP: 13 i.39.8, ii.69.24

BIHETE 'promise'

(TO NP) PAT: 2 i.180.21, ii.227.28

TO NP DS: 1 ii.53.22

NP TO VP: 0 i.60.17

Here the NP is

NP BE BIHI3T TO VP: 0 i.312.36 infinitive subject

(TO NP) TO VP: 0 i.99.11, ii.29.2

BIHOLDE

CLAN WH: 1 i.37.23

BILEVE

PAT: 5 i.28.2, i.30.11

(NP TO VP): 0 ii.388.2

BINDE 'compel, oblige'

NP - TO VP: 2 ii.62.4,6

BISIE 'trouble, keep busy'

REFL PRO WH: 1 i.13.24

REFL PRO - TO VP: 0 i.95.9, i.326.17

BE BISIE 'be busy, anxious'

WH: 1 i.38.10

TO VP: 5 ii.245.28, ii.246.1

CLAN WH: 1 i.37.20

BITOKENE 'symbolize, indicate'

PAT: 0 i.261.16, i.289.11

WH: 1 i.34.18

BLYNDE 'prevent through blindness'

NP - TO VP: 1 i.24.17

BE BLYNDE

TO VP: 1 ii.79.16

BOSTE

PAT: 2 i.166.26, ii.261.30
(NP TO VP): 0 i.136.6

CASTE 'deliberate, ponder'; 'prepare, plan, set oneself to do sth.'

WH: 0 i.300.1, i.380.19
(REFL PRO) - TO VP: 6 ii.54.8,9, ii.249.15

CEESE 'cease, refrain'

TO VP: 3 i.40.20, i.198.23

BE CERTEYN

NP BE CERTEYN PAT: 2 i.188.29, i.204.24
IT BE CERTEYN PAT: 1 ii.250.14
NP BE CERTEYN TO VP: 0 i.142.25

CHALLENGE 'demand, require'; 'claim, claim the right (to do)'

NP TO VP: 1 ii.74.16
TO VP: 6 i.36.32, i.40.26

CHESE

NP - TO VP: 1 i.33.26
NP BE CHOSEN TO VP: 1 ii.255.16

CLEPE 'summon, call upon'

NP - TO VP: 1 ii.62.30
NP BE CLEPID TO VP: 2 i.13.13, 15

COMANDE 'order'

(NP) PAT: 0 i.118.28, ii.33.4
NP DS: 1 i.172.4
NP(-)TO VP: 2 i.17.29, i.39.30

CONCLUDE 'declare'

TO NP PAT: 1 i.195.33

CONFESSE 'admit, acknowledge'

1PAT: 1 i.196.12, ii.10.8
CLAN 1PAT: 1 i.196.11
NP TO VP: 1 i.196.21

CONFORTE 'strengthen, encourage'

NP - TO VP: 2 i.194.22, ii.85.27
NP BE CONFORTID TO VP: 1 i.195.16, i.372.12

CONSEYVE 'form or have an opinion'

1PAT: 1 i.29.30

CONSTREYNE 'compel, force'

NP - TO VP: 4 i.6.16, i.29.9
NP BE CONSTREYNED TO VP: 1 i.29.11, i.207.27

BE COUPABLE 'be deserving, liable'

TO VP: 2 i.16.15,25

COVEITE 'desire'

1PAT subj: 1 i.104.5, ii.237.34
TO VP: 7 i.2.32, ii.69.27
(NP TO VP): 0 ii.369.33

CRIE 'beg, entreat, call'

1PAT: cf i.35.34
DS: 2 i.2.11, ii.240.7

DAMPNE 'condemn'

NP - TO VP: 1 i.11.9

BE DEEF

TO VP: 1 i.30.29

DEME 'form the opinion, think, suppose'

TO VP: 0 i.240.8

DENYE 'deny, refuse'

1PAT: 2 i.34.26, i.38.22
TO VP: 0 i.288.25, i.378.13

DESIRE

TO VP: 3 ii.58.20, ii.71.15

DISPOSE 'make fit, prepare'

NP - TO VP: 2 i.33.15, i.189.29
Δ TO VP: 1 ii.230.29
NP BE DISPOSID TO VP: 0 i.220.34, ii.305.18

WSerE clearly has the sense OED Dispose, v. 5 'To put into the proper frame or condition for some action or result; ... to fit, prepare ...' (and cf MED dispōsen v. 8.). cf also i.307.9, 19; ii.307.26; with UNDISPOSE i.147.17.

BE DISPOSID

TO VP: 1 ii.244.27

DOUTE 'doubt, be afraid'

WH: 4 i.181.1, ii.87.7
TO VP: 0 i.245.18
(NP TO VP): 0 i.116.3

DREDE 'fear, doubt'

(REFL PRO) PAT: 1 i.217.9, ii.225.8
(REFL PRO) CLAN PAT: 1 i.20.9, i.328.3
(REFL PRO) - TO VP: 6 ii.239.17, 19

DREME 'dream, imagine'

PAT: 1 ii.88.5

ENFORCE 'force'; with reflexive NP: 'strive'

NP TO VP: 1 i.169.23

EXCUSE

?NP PAT S: 0 ii.48.36
NP - TO VP: 1 i.5.3

EXPOWNE 'interpret'

?NP PAT: 1 ii.241.1

FAILE 'fail, avoid'

TO VP: 5 i.196.18, ii.253.7

FALLE 'be appropriate, happen'

IT FALLE PAT: 3 ii.240.32, ii.245.7
(IT) FALLE (TO NP) TO VP: 6 i.3.14, ii.259.33
NP FALLE TO VP: 2 i.165.14, ii.251.18

Clear impersonal examples: i.378.33, i.379.6; no clear personal examples; a further corpus example neutralizes this structure and the previous one (and cf ii.63.22, placed under IT FALLE TO NP TO VP).

Cf NP FALLE TO NP TO VP: 1 i.16.20

FEYNE 'pretend'

(REFL PRO) PAT: 5 ii.90.6,27
(REFL PRO) - TO VP: 4 i.176.19, ii.248.1
NP PRED: 2 i.40.24, ii.90.9

BE FERRE 'be far'

TO VP: 1 i.165.5
IT BE FERRE FRO NP TO VP: 1 i.17.9

FIGURE 'symbolize, signify'

PAT: 1 ii.57.17
TO NP WH: 1 ii.85.29

FINDE

NP PRED: 2 i.200.10, ii.88.23
NP BE FOUNDE PRED: 2 ii.229.2,31
(here PRED includes VERBING)

FLEE 'avoid'

TO VP: 4 ii.82.6, ii.251.4

FORFENDE 'forbid, prohibit'

(NP TO VP): 0 i.107.5
Δ TO VP: 2 ii.62.28, ii.250.23

FOR3ETE

TO VP: 0 i.346.36
CLAN TO VP: 1 i.174.31

FORSOKE (pa.t.) 'refused'

TO VP: 1 i.15.26

FOUCHE SAAF 'vouchsafe'

TO VP: 1 ii.73.27

GESSE 'suppose, think, consider'

PAT: 3 ii.65.33, ii.72.33
(NP TO VP): 1 ii.229.7, ii.366.28
TO VP: 1 ii.65.20
NP (AS) PRED: 1 ii.229.1, ii.329.31

3YVE 'grant, allow'

NP PAT: 1 ii.243.22
(TO) NP - TO VP: 2 ii.63.33, ii.226.13

BE GOOD/BETERE

IT BE GOOD (TO NP) PAT: 2 i.37.35, ii.87.9
NP BE GOOD PAT: 1 ii.89.18
IT BE GOOD (TO NP) TO VP: 3 i.185.6, i.189.32
IT BE GOOD NP TO VP: 1 ii.58.22

GRAUNTE 'admit, acknowledge'

(TO NP) PAT: 8 i.23.32 (2 egs), i.35.24
(NP TO VP): 0 ii.94.6
NP PRED: 1 i.195.6

'permit, grant'

TO NP TO VP: 1 ii.239.33
NP - TO VP: 1 ii.260.16

'agree'

TO VP: 0 i.247.18, ii.28.14

GRUTCHE 'grumble'; 'be reluctant'

PAT: 2 i.172.28, 31
TO VP: 1 i.177.36, ii.324.27

BE HARD

IT BE HARD (TO NP) TO VP: 4 i.174.17, i.186.8
NP BE HARD TO V_: 3 i.184.27, ii.243.22

BE HARDI 'be bold'

TO VP: 1 ii.73.9, i.231.2

HASTE 'hasten, urge'

NP BE HASTID TO VP: 1 ii.243.11

HAVE

PAT 'maintain': 0 i.241.10
NP PRED: 5 i.5.10, i.11.16

With PAT the sense is OED Have, v. 13.b 'With will: to maintain or assert as a fact'. OED gives no ME instances, and MED does not give this sense. Cf similar uses after 3YVE, GRAUNTE, TAKE.

HAVE LEVERE 'find preferable, prefer'

VP: 1 ii.82.28
(?NP PRED)

HEERE

PAT: 0 i.108.16
WH: 1 i.30.29
(NP VP): 1 i.296.10,17, ii.73.23
NP PRED: ?1 ii.74.18

HELPE

PAT: 1 ii.231.27
NP - TO VP: 6 i.169.12, ii.72.21
TO VP: 2 ii.234.36, ii.243.9

HOLDE 'consider, regard'

NP PRED: 6 i.16.1, i.172.20
NP BE HOLDEN PRED: 3 ii.89.5, ii.258.4
IT BE HOLDEN PRED TO VP: 2 ii.227.8, ii.250.12

BE HOLDEN 'be constrained'

TO VP: 4 ii.239.28, ii.252.8

HOPE 'hope, presume, expect'

PAT: 3 i.166.22, ii.233.23
TO VP: 3 i.2.20, i.204.26
NP BE HOPID TO VP: 0 ii.280.34

BE YNOW3

IT BE YNOW3 PAT: 1 i.35.12, i.208.20
TO VP BE YNOW3: 0 i.267.23
(IT BE) YNOW3 (TO NP) TO VP: 7 i.31.31, i.181.22
cf NP BE YNOW3 (TO NP) TO VP: 2 i.31.31, i.200.17
cf YNOW3 (NP) TO VP (modifying NP): 2 i.14.19, i.171.19

JUGE

PAT: 2 i.11.5, ii.230.35
NP PAT (?CLAN): 1 ii.229.37
WH: 0 i.94.27
NP WH (?CLAN): 1 i.38.24
NP(-) TO VP 'think' 'decree' 'condemn': 1 i.260.24, ii.67.34
NP PRED: 1 i.271.5, ii.75.4

KNITTE 'add'

PAT: 1 ii.256.32

KNOWE

ĤPAT: 12 i.7.23, i.23.19
IT BE KNOWEN (TO NP) ĤPAT: 8 i.204.1, ii.223.30
CLAN ĤPAT: 1 ii.65.22, ii.152.27
WH: 6 i.21.19, ii.230.29
IT BE KNOWEN (TO NP) WH: 0 ii.8.3, ii.286.7
CLAN WH: 2 i.40.4, i.146.8
NP PRED: 1 i.189.10, i.312.21
NP BE KNOWEN PRED: 0 i.211.33, ii.47.23

KNOWELICHE 'acknowledge'

ĤPAT: 2 ii.243.37, ii.244.1

LERNE

ĤPAT: 2 i.167.8, ii.75.9
TO VP: 4 i.173.24, i.190.13

LETE 'permit, suffer'

NP TO VP: 5 i.18.2, i.188.24 (2 egs) (TO occurs in i.81.16)

LETTE 'prevent'; 'fail, cease'

(NP) ĤPAT : 0 ii.333.20, ii.343.30
NP(-) TO VP : 18 ii.246.4, ii.260.3
NP BE LETTID TO VP: 2 i.1.15, i.198.5
TO VP: 3 i.197.29, ii.248.27
Δ TO VP: ?3 ii.80.11, i.278.38, i.297.15

Visser, III.1 §1233, remarks "Only one instance found" of
Δ TO VP (Pecock).

LEVE 'reject (the notion that)'; 'stop, neglect'

ĤPAT: 1 ii.81.20
TO VP: 5 i.30.27, ii.63.4

BE LEVEFUL 'be permissible, lawful'

IT BE LEVEFUL (TO NP) TO VP: 3 ii.56.30, ii.57.13
IT BE LEVEFUL NP TO VP: 1 i.154.9, i.200.6
NP BE LEVEFUL TO V_: 1 ii.263.16

BE LICELI

IT BE LICELI (PP) ĤPAT: 3 i.202.15, ii.56.1
IT BE LICELI pat PP: 1 ii.242.30

BE LI3T 'be easy'

IT BE LI3T (TO NP) TO VP: 1 i.115.20, ii.250.27
NP BE LI3T TO V_: 2 i.174.16, i.191.1
and once as attributive.

LOKE 'take care, pay attention to'

ṖAT subj : 5 ii.64.35, ii.240.31
WH: 1 i.203.8 (cf §3.3.0,2)
CLAN WH: 1 i.38.2

LONGE 'pertain to'

(IT) LONGE NP TO VP: 1 ii.89.12

LOVE

ṖAT: 2 i.166.29, i.169.30
TO VP: 1 ii.42.36, ii.62.14

MAKE 'make, cause'

ṖAT: 1 ii.227.12, ii.266.33
IT BE MAAD ṖAT: 1 i.1.16, i.258.30
(NP TO VP): 36 i.200.26 (2 egs), ii.225.31
NP PRED: 54 i.10.8,10
NP BE MAAD PRED: 25 i.181.25 (2 egs), ii.240.22
cf conjoined NP PRED and VP i.21.28, i.346.33

MARKE 'observe mentally, designate, deem'

WH: 2 i.3.21, ii.257.12
NP - TO VP: 1 ii.81.10

MENE 'mean, say'

ṖAT: 1 i.29.8, i.236.12
TO NP DS: 0 i.358.26

MONESTE 'admonish'

NP - TO VP: 1 ii.256.36

MOVE 'suggest, propound (a question)'; 'urge, persuade'

ṖAT: 0 i.228.6
WH: 0 i.386.1, i.211.32
NP - TO VP: 30 ii.239.18, ii.240.35
NP BE MOVED TO VP: 1 ii.11.8, ii.223.4
Δ TO VP: cf ii.233.9; i.139.33, i.373.1

MUSE 'wonder, ponder'

WH: 8 ii.52.25, ii.55.32

NEDE (1) 'constrain, compell' OED Need, v.¹

NP - TO VP: 4 ii.62.3, ii.260.14
NP BE NEDID (TO NP) TO VP: 7 i.5.6, i.8.4
Δ TO VP: 0 i.378.7

NEDE (2) 'to be necessary, to need' OED Need, v.²

IT NEDE PAT subj: 0 ii.31.24
(IT) NEDE TO VP: 3 i.21.21, ii.262.20
NP NEDE TO VP: ?4 ii.239.23 (pers), ii.263.23 (impers)
the other two are structural neutralizations. Cf impersonal
with NP TO VP of the purpose for which something is necessary
i.202.29.

BE NEDEFUL 'be necessary'

IT BE NEDEFUL TO/FOR NP TO VP: 1 i.243.18, ii.81.33
NP BE NEDEFUL (TO) NP TO V_: 3 i.183.13, ii.243.33

BE NY3 'be near'

TO VP: 1 i.38.18

OBLISHE 'bind'

NP BE OBLISHID TO VP: 1 i.193.23

ORDEYNE 'appoint, decree, plan'

PAT: ?1 ii.1.15, ii.226.10
WH: 2 i.6.24, ii.258.27
NP(-)TO VP: 7 i.182.29, ii.87.31
TO VP: ?1 i.229.10, ii.73.12
NP BE ORDEYNED TO VP: 2 i.184.5, ii.245.19
NP PRED: 2 i.28.5, i.198.24

PRECHE 'preach, proclaim'

TO NP PAT: 1 i.198.31

PREIE 'ask, pray'

(NP) PAT subj: 9 ii.244.22, ii.252.26
NP DS: 1 ii.85.2
(TO) NP - TO VP: 11 ii.85.18, ii.244.20

PREISE

NP (reflexive) PAT: 1 ii.261.28

PRESUME

TO VP: 1 i.11.11

PROCURE 'to bring about'; 'induce, persuade'

PAT subj: 1 i.26.23 (MS punctuation precedes and)
NP TO VP: 0 i.153.29, i.154.7

PROFITE 'be of advantage to'

IT PROFITE (TO NP) TO VP: 1 i.37.27, i.330.12,15
NP PROFITE TO VP: ?1 ii.246.18

PROVE 'establish as true'

PAT: 3 i.184.12, ii.57.13

PUTTE

PAT 'suppose': 1 i.181.22
ON/FROM NP PAT 'blame/avoid': 2 i.177.11, ii.255.16
NP PRED: 1 ii.225.6

REDE 'read'

PAT: 3 i.24.33, ii.66.35

BE REDI

TO VP: 6 i.182.5, i.183.12

REHERSE 'repeat'

?DS: 1 i.167.4

RENOUNCE 'make renunciation'; 'declare'

TO NP PAT: 1 i.183.10

REULE 'control, guide'

NP WH: 1 ii.87.18
(?CLAN-construction)

SEE

PAT: 9 i.12.12, i.18.36
WH: 8 i.202.13, ii.257.10 (see §3.3.1)
CLAN WH: 0 i.325.12
(NP VP): 1 i.32.8, i.353.27
NP PRED: 8 i.32.9, i.34.10
NP BE SEEN PRED: 1 ii.61.17
(here PRED includes VERBING)

'see to it'

PAT subj: 0 i.90.10, i.243.13

SEIE

(TO NP) PAT: 225 i.168.32,35, ii.70.25
 (TO NP) pat + DS: 5 ii.84.13, ii.85.20
 (TO NP) DS: 128 i.3.10, i.12.32
 (TO NP) pat NP/PP/ADV: 7 i.17.28, ii.76.6
 WH: 7 ii.66.19, ii.80.32
 IT BE SEIED PAT: 11 i.200.20, ii.81.34
 IT BE SEIED WH: 3 ii.51.9, ii.234.25
 (NP TO VP): 1 i.170.25, i.348.28
 NP BE SEIED TO VP: 2 i.179.30, i.180.1
 NP BE SEIED (AS) PRED: 2 i.27.20, i.192.22
 TO NP TO VP 'order': 2 i.4.25, ii.72.25

For differences between SEIE and TELLE, see TELLE.

SEKE 'make it one's aim'

TO VP: 2 ii.65.30, ii.67.6

SEME

(IT) SEME (TO NP) PAT: 19 i.181.30 (2 egs), ii.240.9,16
 NP SEME ((TO) NP) - TO VP: 8 i.32.18, i.167.28 (2 egs)
 For TO NP here which OED Seem, v.² 3.b. only records from later
 cf i.389.20, i.231.7, i.263.17, ii.38.6. Here the notional
 subject of the infinitive is normally the subject of SEME,
 but is oblique in i.260.20, i.261.4.
 NP SEME (TO NP) PRED: 9 ii.51.10, ii.67.9

BE SETTE 'be fixed'

TO VP: 1 i.12.6

SHAME 'be ashamed'

TO VP: 6 i.22.11 (impers), i.23.33 (pers)

SHAPE 'prepare, contrive, set oneself to do'

(REFL PRO) - TO VP: 2 i.177.1, i.183.25

SHEWE

PAT: 3 i.168.11, i.186.14
 TO NP WH: 0 i.351.16
 NP TO VP: 0 i.136.5
 NP PRED: 1 i.1.7, i.155.20

BE SIKIR 'be certain'

PAT: 2 i.189.14, ii.225.26

SPARE 'forbear, refrain'

TO VP: 2 ii.79.11, ii.263.27

SPEKE 'utter, say, state'

†PAT: 3(?) i.179.16, ii.225.10, ii.259.17
WH: 2 i.41.20, i.180.6, ii.226.32
DS: 3 ii.242.18,33, ii.261.24

Most instances of SPEKE followed by a clause or direct speech involve potential apposition (commonly with †PUS), or considerable separation, so that it is difficult to be certain of the construction. OED Speak, v. 22.b. cites only OE and eModE instances with THAT-clause: another WSerE example is found in ii.368.35. Three of these four have light or no MS punctuation between SPEKE and clause, whereas the examples of direct speech have </>.

STIRE 'urge, persuade'

NP - TO VP: 4 ii.72.22, ii.87.27
Δ TO VP: 1 ii.221.16

STUDIE

WH: 1 ii.238.5

SUFFICE 'be sufficient'

IT SUFFICE †PAT subj: 1 i.17.6
IT SUFFICE (TO NP) TO VP: 2 i.21.21,22

SUFFRE 'tolerate, allow'

†PAT: 2 i.187.5, ii.237.2
NP TO VP: 2 i.9.15, ii.70.29
NP BE SUFFERID TO VP: 0 i.150.34

SUPPOSE 'suppose, expect, assume'

(TO NP) †PAT: 9 ii.58.7, ii.77.7
(NP TO VP): 0 ii.174.3

TAKE 'infer, deduce' (OED Take, v. 31.b.)

OF NP †PAT: 1 i.235.20, ii.236.21
OF NP WH: 1 i.369.8, ii.90.24
OF NP TO VP: 2 i.178.19,22, ii.10.16

'take, regard as, suppose to be'

NP AS/FOR NP: 3 ii.55.4, ii.74.32
AS BILEVE †PAT: 5 ii.233.19, ii.235.28
cf NP BE TAKEN FOR NP: 4 i.9.34, ii.231.20
IT BE TAKEN FOR NP †PAT: 1 ii.250.10

TECHE

((TO) NP) PAT: 24 i.16.10, i.18.27
 NP BE TAU3TE PAT: 1 ii.243.32
 (NP) WH: 16 ii.241.4, ii.260.26
 NP BE TAU3TE WH: 1 i.18.13
 NP - TO VP: 21 i.188.18,23
 NP BE TAU3TE TO VP: 1 ii.86.20
 Δ TO VP: 5 i.202.24, ii.253.1
 (NP TO VP): 0 i.303.23

TELLE

(TO NP) PAT: 23 ii.57.8, ii.58.15
 (TO NP) WH: 68 ii.51.1, ii.80.10
 IT BE TOLD WH: 1 i.157.37, ii.53.6
 MYCHE PAT: 1 i.196.26
 NP PAT 'expound': 1 i.192.19

TELLE is distinguished from SEIE by not occurring with direct speech (SEIE: 35% of finite clauses), by occurring frequently with WH-clauses (TELLE: 75%, SEIE 4% of indirect clauses) including weakened HOW, and by its frequency with an abstract subject (TELLE 49%, SEIE 4% of indirect clauses). Presumably it is focused on the content of the information, rather than the words used, as is PE TELL. With an abstract or 'textual' subject (eg gospel, Mattheu) neither word takes an indirect object except once TELLE; with an animate subject TELLE takes an indirect object nearly half the time, SEIE with indirect clause only 10% of the time (with direct speech SEIE has an indirect object nearly 70% of the time, but this high figure is caused by translation from the Vulgate). The distinction in focus on the indirect object found today between the two verbs (cf Baghdikian 1977) is weakly present, and the implication of the distribution found in the corpus is that this development must have depended on the opposition SEIE : TELLE after animate subjects, where TELLE was perhaps free to develop a new value after extension into an area already possessing an opposition between direct speech and indirect clause which perhaps made that between SEIE and TELLE less valuable. It does not accord with the different account given in Marckwardt (1967), who sees no syntactic change as having taken place.

TEMPTTE

NP - TO VP: 0 i.263.34, i.278.11
 NP BE TEMPTID TO VP: 1 i.183.5

PENKE

PAT: 17 ii.244.6, ii.247.27
 WH: 8 i.192.15, ii.234.16
 TO VP: 1 i.189.31, ii.304.2
 ?(NP TO VP): 0 i.339.7
 NP PRED: 3 i.12.6, ii.226.7

PENKE (UP)ON/OVER PAT: 1 i.129.1, ii.90.15
 WH: 1 ii.89.35
 CLAN WH: 1 i.173.4
 TO VP: 0 ii.216.21

Most examples are OED Think, v.² with such senses as 'think, be of opinion, consider, reflect upon, intend, expect'. But Think, v.¹ 'To seem, to appear' occurs with PAT at i.198.33, and is fairly frequent with PAT outside the corpus, eg i.97.28, 109.26, 119.11, 152.10, 16.

TOKNE 'signify'

PAT: 1 i.13.32 (or the sb.?)

TOUCHE 'treat of, tell'

WH: 1 i.9.20

TROWE 'believe, expect'

PAT: 9 ii.53.19, ii.56.10
 CLAN PAT: 1 i.368.5, ii.90.23
 IT ... PAT: 0 i.330.4
 TO VP: 0 ii.324.32, ii.332.14
 NP PRED/?(NP TO VP): 1 ii.57.18

UNDIRSTONDE 'understand'

PAT: 7 i.3.35, i.13.12
 WH: 1 i.30.5, i.45.34
 CLAN WH: 1 ii.68.4

'take, interpret or view in a certain way'

NP PAT: 0 i.328.11, (cf i.328.17, i.350.10)
 cf (BI) NP NP: 5 i.392.34, ii.222.36
 cf NP BE UNDIRSTONDEN (BI) NP: 2 i.351.11, ii.223.18

There are also clear instances of a sense 'mean', with subject God, Crist, Poul cf OED Understand, v. 5.e, 12.b, both later and marked '-1'. WSerE: i.293.11, 342.29, 343.34, 378.12, 408.2, 408.23, ii.44.12 (and cf 7), 276.15.

UNKNOWE 'not to know, be ignorant'

PAT: 1 ii.258.29
 IT BE UNKNOWUN TO NP WH: 1 i.167.2, cf i.236.2
 NP BE UNKNOWUN TO VP: 0 i.288.24

BE UNWORP¹I

TO VP: 4 ii.74.31,32

USE 'to be wont'

TO VP: 3 i.16.18, ii.224.15

BE WARE 'be careful, cautious'

PAT: 2 i.178.13, ii.246.18

TO VP: 1 i.189.13

WARNE 'make aware, advise'

NP WH: 1 i.3.24

NP BE WARNID TO VP: 1 i.3.1

WENE 'think, suppose, intend, expect'

PAT: 3 ii.226.5, ii.235.25

TO VP: 3 i.10.29 (3 egs), i.393.30

WILLE 'wish, intend, enjoin'

PAT subj: 26 i.177.21,30 (for indicative mood see §3.4.2)

TO VP: 2 with TO; VP passim. i.182.18, i.195.33

WITE 'know'

PAT: 51 i.23.29, i.24.8

WH: 30 i.11.3, i.38.9

WH-word + PP/ADV: 4 ii.262.34, ii.263.11,14

(NP VP): 0 i.312.11

TO VP 'be confident': 1 i.197.36

NP PRED: 0 i.303.38, i.326.14 (?NP TO VP)

WITE is uncommon with NP objects (only 5 corpus examples, beside over 80 with KNOWE), and is only found with abstract objects.

WITNESSE 'bear witness'

TO NP PAT (?CLAN): 1 ii.53.3

A3ENS NP WH: 1 i.167.17

WONDRIDE (pa. t.) 'marvelled'

PAT: 1 ii.84.32

BE WONT 'to be accustomed'

TO VP: 1 i.192.19

BE WORP¹ 'be valuable'

Δ TO VP: 1 ii.38.9, ii.86.3

BE WORP¹I

TO VP: 8 i.13.2, i.16.31

WRITE

IT BE WRITUN P¹AT (?DS): 3 ii.81.23, ii.89.35

(These three are unIntroduced clauses which neutralize the
direct/indirect distinction)

IT BE WRITUN WH: 1 ii.251.8

?NP BE WRITUN TO VP: 1 i.188.19

BE WROOP¹ 'be angry'

P¹AT: 1 ii.57.10

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Explicit hoc totum
Pro Christo da mihi potum*

* That goes for me too, Jane.